

## Daily Report

# Sub-Saharan Africa

### **Daily Report**

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#### Cameroon

#### Biya, 'Influential Personalities' Continue Talks

AB2507170091 Yaounde CRTV Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] President Paul Biya this evening received Professor Victor Mokwekelenkor, leader of the People's Action Party, in continuation of the head of state's consultations with influential personalities in the country. Two other political leaders who requested anonymity were also received this evening. Earlier today, the head of state granted audience to two other political leaders, and as usual in the current consultations, no declarations were made, but it is thought that all those received were seeking ways of breaking the current deadlock in relations between the government and the political parties.

The bishops of Cameroon have appealed to the government and the opposition to hold respectful dialogue rid of superiority complex and prejudice so as to produce effective and lasting results for the future. In a release published today, the bishops note that since their two previous appeals, the situation in the country has grown worse. In the appeal, the bishops say what is happening today goes to bear witness to the fact that the private life of citizens has been structured [by] egoism, meanness, jealousy, and hatred.

#### Biya's Willingness To Meet Opposition Noted

AB2507213591 Yaounde CRTV Radio Network in French 1900 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Excerpts] Operation open door at the Unity Palace. Today the head of state received five opposition leaders, two this morning and three this afternoon. [passage omitted] The president of the Republic is still ready to meet individually those party leaders who are willing to meet with him to examine solutions to the country's major problems to propel the democratic process. Obviously, the gap is growing between extremists who advocate violence and those who favor dialogue, Jean Abangui:

[Abangui] Dialogue is continuing at the Unity Palace. It is moving slowly perhaps, but with sure steps which take us closer every day to democratic ideals composed of convictions and mutual tolerance through sincere discussions and dialogue. As proof, out of the five opposition leaders received by the head of state today, four of them belonged to the former National Coordination. They each agreed to shake the hand held out by the president of the Republic with whom they freely discussed issues of concern to them, notably the famous national conference.

While some extremist parties continue to announce their war plan with the continuation of Operation Dead Cities, the blockade of Douala port, and the paralysis of Yaounde, the capital, His Excellency Paul Biya, the president of the Republic, continues his dialogue policy imperturbably with Cameroonians of goodwill who are

anxious to make the democratic process initiated in our country move through peace and debate. Little by little, the underlying intentions of those who, claiming to fight for democracy, want to throw the country into turmoil and anarchy are coming to light.

Faithful to his promises and consistent, the president of the Republic is nonetheless ready to meet each political party concerned with helping establish, through peace, this democracy for which we have fought so much. Moreover, the president's civil office has confirmed that invitations have been sent individually to party leaders. Will they be able to grasp the hand held out by the head of state? That is the question.

#### Congo

#### Government Disbands Sassou-Nguesso's Security

AB2307214091 London BBC World Service in English 0630 GMT 23 Jul 91

[From the "African News" program]

[Text] Congo's new transitional government has announced the disbanding of the battalion assigned to protect the country's president, Mr. Denis Sassou-Nguesso, but the president is to retain his personal guard manned by Cuban troops until a new republican army is formed under the control of the prime minister, Mr. Andre Milongo. The president's battalion, some 300 men, is to be merged into the Armed Forces. The transitional government is ruling Congo until multiparty elections are held in May.

#### **Equatorial Guinea**

#### Mbasogo To Meet Opposition; 'No Fear' of Change

AB2007124091 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 1830 GMT 18 Jul 91

[Text] The Equatorial Guinean president was thought to be hostile to a multiparty system, but it looks as if this is not true; he has just hinted at the possibility of making a step toward a multiparty system in a speech in Bata, the country's second largest city.

If the Equatorial Guinean people are conscious of what they want and a 1 responsibly, there should be no fear of this change. The statement by the Equatorial Guinean president to h s compatriots was made as part of a sensitization campaign he is undertaking throughout the country. This statement seems to be in reaction to demands by the opposition—especially the opposition parties in exile, some of which recently merged—for a multiparty system in Equatorial Guinea.

The most radical of these opposition parties even gave President Obiang Nguema Mbasogo until 4 August to open the country up to political pluralism because any other attitude will make the country's future uncertain, but the Equatorial Guinean president, who apparently seems overtaken by events and especially by the current political situation, has chosen to avoid trouble following the ultimatum by the opposition in exile; the ultimatum, however, was not taken seriously in Malabo.

President Obiang Nguema Mbasogo is therefore determined more than ever to change the political scene in Equatorial Guinea, saying, quote: I will receive opposition elements around one table, unquote.

#### Opposition UDSS Welcomes Multiparty Move

AB2207150991 Paris AFP in French 1600 GMT 20 Jul 91

[Text] Libreville, 20 Jul (AFP)—In a communique published today in Libreville, the Union for Democracy and Social Development (UDSS), one of the opposition parties of Equatorial Guinea, expressed its "satisfaction" with the "pluralistic opening" effected by President Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo. The president stated in Bata on 17 July that he envisaged "the possibility of making a move toward a multiparty system," adding that he knew that the people were not ready to accept it "through fear of past experience," but affirmed that "there is no reason to be afraid of this change."

This declaration "satisfies" the UDSS, led by Mr. Antonio Sibacha Bueicheku. The organization "intends to cooperate with all Equatorial Guinea parties that are committed to democracy." It "does not exclude the ruling party, provided that the process is implemented in peace and tranquillity, without precipitation, but within reasonable time limits, leading to a national conference before the end of the year." The UDSS expressed "its satisfaction with the fact that the head of state's decision had come about before the expiration of the ultimatum" that it gave on 22 May for restoring a multiparty system before 3 August, the 12th anniversary of the assumption of power by Mr. Obiang.

#### Rwanda

#### Radio Says Ugandan Solders 'Massing' on Border

EA2507210591 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] The rebel cockroaches [inyenzi-inkotanyi] continue to commit barbarous acts against the Rwandan people living along the Ugandan border. Last night they bombed the Muvumba commune with mortars, as reported by our permanent correspondent in Byumba, Florent Kampayana:

[Begin Kampayana recording] Last night some of them launched mortars against Rwandan territory from Uganda, more precisely into the Muyumba commune. while others simultaneously attempted to infiltrate into the country. Since this morning, our soldiers and local people have been searching every corner where these rebels might be hiding. Last night they again launched mortars, killing three peasants. It must be said that the people living along the border have never been as traumatized by the rebels' inhuman acts as they have these past few days, because in each attack peasants are abducted and [words indistinct] they are simply killed. The trauma is exacerbated by the fact that today Ugandan soldiers are massing on the border, certainly in order to support their rebel friends. They think if the cockroaches do not succeed with their discreet support. they may succeed if they get open support. They should know, however, that to be forewarned is to be forearmed.

It must finally be reported that the group of neutral military observers headquartered in Byumba does not want to issue a single press statement, even upon their return a week ago from Kampala where they were reportedly warmly welcomed by Museveni. The group's leader just told me: Just wait, I will give you a date for an interview. Although the group has remained silent, one must admit that three months after their arrival in our country, they have not been capable yet of (?properly) starting their mission, which is, I remind you, to supervise the implementation of the cease-fire. [end recording]

#### Zaire

#### Mobutu Reappoints Mulumba Lukoji Pri ne Minister

AB2507120091 London BBC World Service in English 0730 GMT 25 Jul 91

[From the "African News" program]

[Text] President Mobutu of Zaire has reappointed Mr. Mulumba Lukoji as prime minister two days after he dismissed him for failing to improve Zaire's social and economic conditions. The move follows the refusal of the leader of the opposition Union for Democracy and Social Progress, Mr. Etienne Tshisekedi, to accept the post. Mr. Tshisekedi said the offer was aimed at dividing the opposition, and he would not collaborate with the dictatorial regime.

#### Lukoji Announces New Government

AB2507221891 Paris AFP in French 2015 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Kinshasa, 25 Jul (AFP)—Here is the list of the Zairian Government, led by Prime Minister Lukoji Mulumba, who has been reappointed to his functions as prime minister: Vice Prime Ministers in charge of:

Institutional Reforms	KISIMBA Ngoy [unchanged]		
Territorial Administration	MUZAGBA Ngbuka [unchanged		
Economy and Industry	MALU Mfiku Biakalua [new]		
Social Affairs	LENGELO Muyangandu [new]		
Minister of:			
Foreign Affairs	IPOTO Bakand-Asi Eyebu [new]		
National Defense	MAVUA Mudima (Admiral) [unchanged]		
Justice	MAYABU Nkulu Mrs. [unchanged]		
Finance	ILUNGA Ilunkamba [unchanged]		
Planning	BOMBITA Botomba [unchanged		
Budget	MANANGA Ma Pholo [unchanged]		
Information & Press	BANZA Nsungu Mukalay [unchanged]		
Relations With Parliament	BASHALA Kantu wa Milandu [new]		
International Cooperation	NGONGO Kamanda [unchanged]		
Agriculture	ONYEMBE Mbutu Pene [unchanged]		
External Trade	MULUMBA Musambay [unchanged]		
Mines	MUSSHOBEKWA Kalimba wa Katana [unchanged]		
Energy	MULAANGALA Lwakabwanga [unchanged]		
Small & Medium-SizedEnter- prises	MIMPIYA Akan [new]		
Public Works	NYINDU Kitenge [new]		
Transport & Communications	KIMASI Matuiku Basaula [new]		
Land Management Affairs	KABANGA Ntabala-Mualim [unchanged]		
Higher Education	PAYANZO Ntzomo [new]		
Scientific Research	KAMBAYI Bwatshia [new]		
Primary Education	KOLI Elombe Motukoa [unchanged]		
Health	MBOSO Nkodia Pwanga [unchanged]		
Environment	KATENDE Nguza [unchanged]		
Public Service	MUDUKA, Inyanza Mrs. [unchanged]		
Labor	WETE Minga [unchanged]		
Women's Affairs	MITHEO Lola Mara Tumba, Mrs. [unchanged]		
Post & Telecommunications	KITENGE Yezu [unchanged]		
Culture	MUTUZA Kabe [unchanged]		
Youth & Sports	TENGELO Okito [unchanged]		
Minister Delegate for:			

Participation & Privatization	RAMAZANI Mwene Malungu [unchanged]		
Relations With Political Parties	MATUNGA Lumuna [unchanged]		
Foreign Affairs	MATUNGULU Tavun N'kumai [new]		
Defense	KALUME Numbi, General [unchanged]		
Finance	KWIMI Nsel [unchanged]		
Planning	KINDIDI Ki Pezo [unchanged]		
Budget	LUKUSA Menda [unchanged]		
Information	NZUZI Mulamba [unchanged]		
International Cooperation	SOZA Nbunzu Te Nate [unchanged		
Agriculture	WATULA Kisambalwa [unchanged]		
Small & Medium-Sized Enter- prises	MBUAKI Nsokila [new]		
Public Works	ABASSY Omar [unchanged]		
Transport & Communications	KAZADI Kadima [unchanged]		
Higher Education	BAMBA Kamalandua Zikadia [unchanged]		
Scientific Research	SHABANI Bin Biteko [unchanged]		
Primary Education	ISALU Isansi Kalasi, Mrs. [unchanged]		
Environment	LOMBO Kanza Kanza [unchanged]		

#### 'Sacred Front' To Join National Conference

AB2607095591 Paris AFP in French 1838 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Kinshasa, 25 Jul (AFP)—The Zairian opposition "Sacred Front" is ready to take part in the national conference, which is scheduled to open on 31 July, and will inform the people on their participation during a mass rally, an opposition spokesman announced today. The issue of participation will be submitted to a vote tomorrow by delegates of the 130 parties that compose the Front, who have been meeting since this morning in Kinshasa in order to discuss the decision during the day.

The Front, which was set up last week and which includes, among other parties, the Christian Social Democratic Party, the Union of Federalists and Independent Republicans, and the Union for Democracy and Social Progress, has until now refused to take part in the national conference unless it is sovereign and its decisions implemented immediately. The government has partly met the demands by publishing last week an ordinance that gives the national conference sovereign power over its agenda and designation of the presidium. According to a spokesman from the opposition, however, the ordinance remains "very ambiguous" on the constitutional aspects that will be tackled during the conference.

Pik Botha Interviewed on Inkatha Secret Funding

MB2507141091 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English 1325 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha by local and foreign correspondents, moderated by Penny Smythe; from the "Agenda" program—live]

[Text] [Smythe] (?We are here to discuss) the government's use of secret funds to aid some public organizations, an exposure that has dominated the news over the past week. In the studio with us is Foreign Minister Pik Botha, whose department supplied the .25 million rands to Inkatha, and members of the South African and foreign press who'll be putting the questions that I expect you would like to have had asked.

Good evening, Mr. Minister, and good evening, ladies and gentlemen of the press. Mr. Minister, before we open the floor to the press, may I refer to some questions that have recurred in the press during the past few days, particularly a statement by Minister Vlok, that I million rands had been paid to UWUSA [United Workers Union of South Africa], the trade union allied to Inkatha; that the government has acted injudiciously by funding Inkatha; and that you refuted allegations at a press conference at the conclusion of the visit by the Australian foreign minister, Mr. Gareth Evans, that the government was not funding Inkatha.

[Botha] Yes, you mention Mr. Vlok, that's quite correct. He stated that they funded UWUSA, and it is very interesting that despite Mr. Vlok's very clear statement, the FINANCIAL MAIL published on 26 July that Dr. Mark Burger of my department paid the money. I'm just trying to give you an idea of the way these matters were reported. Some papers went so far as to say that I told a blatant lie, no, a breathtaking lie, in saying that the government was not aware of funds that were transferred to the KwaZulu Government, went to Inkatha. You see, with respect, some newspapers do exactly that, and then they judge, and I hope they are present here, so that we can discuss it today.

Here is what I said, in reply to a question, and the question, I quote: Foreign Minister, you talk about funding. Surely, the South African Government funds the IFP, that is, Inkatha Freedom Party, through its payments and spin-off effects to the KwaZulu Government. I didn't formulate the question. I replied to a question, I did not formulate it. The question, as it was put to me, here it is: Do funds that go into the KwaZulu Government, do those funds also go to Inkatha? Clearly, the answer a month ago was no. The answer today is no. Last Friday, the SUNDAY TIMES phoned me, and put the question to me: Were you aware of funds that went to Inkatha? The answer was yes, and the SUNDAY TIMES will confirm it. Two questions, both replies correct, remaining correct. And I cannot for the life of me see why I shall be called a liar, when I, in fact, said the truth.

[Smythe] Would you like to comment on the injudicious act of funding...

[Botha, interrupting] Yes, certainly. But before I get down to that, look at this. Look at this: storm in a teacup, says Pik. I addressed the ambassadors yesterday in the Union Buildings. The president excused me from a very important Cabinet meeting. I started my address to the ambassadors by saying: Gentlemen—there were no ladies—Gentlemen, the president and government of this country regard this matter so seriously that he excused me from the Cabinet and excused me for three and one half hours. Those were my opening remarks, but this is what the reader must read. I, with all respects, object to this. I object to this most strongly.

As far as the injudicious nature of the expenditure is concerned, we are being judged, in July 1991, on circumstances now prevailing, as if we took these decisions yesterday. It's a fact. Some people seem to forget, some people see now that the summer is approaching, they seem to forget how cold the winter was, and who did what to make it possible for this country to survive that winter.

[Smythe] You feel it was almost a wartime situation, that's why you felt it was acceptable to...

[Botha, interrupting] Well, Penny, I think my attitude is known, and there are representatives of the media here who will know what my attitude has always been on sanctions. I warned the government, I warned the country against sanctions, as ambassador to the United Nations and the United States. I got into trouble at times, on account of remarks I made. I do not want to labor it. We warned against sanctions, but once sanctions were issued, I didn't go and sit back and stick out my tongue, and say, all right, go to blazes, I told you so.

We started to work and it became my responsibility and my department's responsibility to circumvent sanctions, to avoid further sanctions, and to minimize the very negative effect of sanctions on this country, and we set about planning in a proper way. Dr. Mark Burger, who was head of the section but never controlled the funds, as the FINANCIAL MAIL says—here is the law. It's the director general of foreign affairs who controls the funds. But, be that as it may, we set about our task, I believe, in a way which is praiseworthy, and I pay tribute to Dr. Mark Burger, and I pay tribute to my staff, and I pay tribute to all South Africans who assisted us to circumvent sanctions, to combat sanctions, and if I must do it again, I will do it again exactly like this.

[Smythe] Thank you, Minister. Can I open the floor, please to—yes sir!

[(Haraway)] Dave (Haraway) from THE WASH-INGTON POST. I'm [word indistinct] to hear you say that you feel the situation [words indistinct] had to address the diplomats. You have been through another scandal in '78. You, Sir, have survived. But the prime minister and Connie Mulder did not survive. You feel

you are in such a similar situation today that ministers should be [word indistinct]. Can you explain to us why this government is spending more money on the secret service accounts this year than last year, when we're thought to be in the new South Africa?

[Botha] Well, first of all we do not find ourselves at all in a similar position. The auditor general of this countrywhich is a stronger watchdog that you have in Washington over your Cor gress-he reports directly to Parliament. He brought out a categoric report, and I will gladly give you a copy, saying he found absolutely nothing wrong with the payments Foreign Affairs made-nothing whatsoever. He said he verified, he checked specifically these transactions. But, you see, there is little publicity because there is a over-eagerness to get at the government, to degenerate [as heard] us, to believe the worst. As far as the rise in expenses is concerned, there are services-and I believe one of them is National Intelligence, and others-who actually allocate funds for orderly administrative matters like their desks, and maybe the rental of offices, and the state president is looking into this, and I would suggest that you wait for his statement on Tuesday. He has already reduced the number of projects which were required in circumstances of the former era, as we referred to-he had already reduced some of them soon after he assumed the Presidency, and he said that he is reviewing the situation and will be issuing a further statement on Tuesday. Naturally, as sanctions have been lifted, I have myself scaled down, and I [words indistinct] dramatically the amounts we needed three, four years ago. We are now spending not one-tenth of the amount we spend four, five years ago, and this is the effect of it.

[Smythe] Thank you, sir. The other gentleman there. Sorry, just a second, this gentleman there, yes, you [word indistinct] behind you, sorry.

[Name indistinct] [words indistinct] with REUTER, Minister. Does the government really see nothing basically wrong, when it is supposed to be shepherding a transition, to funding one party through the supposedly impartial police force, in the middle of what was virtual civil war in Natal?

[Botha] You see, again with respect, you are judging us on July 1991.

[Correspondent] No, I am judging you in March last year when there was severe fighting in Natal.

[Botha] Well, may I just remind you that by March last year we were very far from the lifting of sanctions, very far from the lifting of sanctions. We did not fund—I refuse to admit that I funded Inkatha for political purposes. They were going to hold a rally there; one the previous November. And at that rally of November was a senior member of the ANC [African National Congress]. He was invited as a guest, for your information, and those were rallies—and I reasoned, and my department reasoned, and, by the way, for the FINANCIAL TIMES information, neither Mr. Beukes, nor Mr. Van

Heerden ever warned me against so-called slush funds. They are using it, just as I use it in their proposals to me. It is an absolute lie. But to return to your question, we funded the rallies because we expected there would have been quite a number of international media. We could not stage the rally. We could not persuade Inkatha to adopt an anti-sanctions stand. But once they adopted it, I said to myself: Let us use the opportunity, and let us assist them with some funding so that the world can see there are black people opposing sanctions.

[Unidentified correspondent] It might be well now to see that your police force was less than impartial.

[Botha] You are mixing two things here. You are mixing two things here, and this is very imporatant. I'm very glad our friend asked this question, and I have some understanding for the implication of this question as I am going to deal with it now. We have experienced a number of extremely unfortunate, if not reprehensible incidents. Mr. Webster's murderer was never found or arrested. The Harms Commission eventually ended in a very frustrating and unsatisfactory manner due to the faci, apparently, that some files and documents were stolen, and the police could not complete their investigation. In certain individual instances our policemen gave rise to a suspicion that the police were indeed partial in taking sides on the part of, or for, or in favor of, Inkatha as against the ANC. I admit this, and I admit it as a result of these unfortunate incidents. Our media and many other people in this country came to the conclusion, or rather, eventually had a severe suspicion, a severe suspicion that the police might be behind some of the violence at least. I want to say here today that before coming here the police informed me that they arrested very recently persons involved in the Jeppe Station murders, or killings, or massacres at the Benrose, as well as the Kliptown; that these were gangsters. They know of the identity of more, they will arrest them; and gave me the assurance that no defense force elements, or police elements were involved, and they will be issuing a statement later today, and I would appeal to all of you to look out for that statement.

Now, what went wrong was this suspicion due to the reprehensible and unfortunate events that I sketched. and then the revelation of the funding, and the funding of the police of what I would consider, myself, also, as bona fide funding for a trade union, because, after all. Inkatha did not get the funds-that's why I told Mr. Evans, that's why I told Mr. Evans, and the Americans, and the British: You are making a mistake in not funding Inkatha. The ANC has received hundreds of millionsnot just millions, hundreds of millions-of dollars and rands all these years, from sources which have never been investigated, and they have never accounted what they do to that money. And that created in the minds of Inkatha emotions, severe emotions. They felt that they also have a contribution to make to the South African political scene, and to the solution of our problems. And they felt that they also needed funds for their trade union, to do a proper job. And this was linked up. The

violence came to be linked up with the funding, which I think is a pity, but at least I have understanding as to how it came about.

[Smythe] Thank you, Minister.

[Subramanyam] I am Subramanyam, PRESS TRUST OF INDIA. In the light of the previous disclosure about the government's misuse of funds, and about the political violence that has been used over the recent weeks, is it true, first—I want to ask you two questions—is it true that the South African Government tried to subvert the independence of Namibia by supporting the DTA [Democratic Turnhalle Aliiance] against SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization], and second, is the South African Government using the same methods in South Africa to subvert the future freedom of South Africans by supporting system-orientated organizations against the ANC and other democratic organizations?

[Botha] To the last part of your question, the answer is no. I have indicated before that the auditor general does audit these funds, and in terms of the legislation which was passed by this Parliament many years ago, he came to the conclusion that the funds were spent regularly, so I do not agree with your basic premise when you said misuse of funds. I object to that, and I reject the allegation implied in your question.

Turning to Namibia, yes, yes, the South African Government did provide funds to a number of Namibian parties in the election campaign. SWAPO received millions. We never provided to the parties I think perhaps onequarter, one-tenth, of what SWAPO had available, and some of those parties approached us, saying that they had no way to acquire funds. We abandoned the second tier government, which we had to do in terms of Resolution 435, and the leaders in the second tier government complained bitterly, saying they had hoped to stay in their positions until there was an election and a new Namibian government. And because-and this was again Resolution 435-I and colleagues of mine persuaded them to abandon their stand on this particular position. They then came back and said: How can you have a democracy, with SWAPO coming into the territory with millions, and millions, and millions, buying T-shirts, paying people on payrolls, and do just what they like? How can you talk of a democratic election in those circumstances?

[Smythe] Minister, can you tell us which organizations the government did assist?

[Botha] Weli, I don't have a full list of all the parties here, but quite a number. I won't be surprised if they were about seven.

[Unidentified correspondent] But did you try to subvert the independence of Namibia by...

[Botha, interrupting] We never subverted the independence. We contributed towards the independence of Namibia, and with all respect, I played a prominent role

in that, and SWAPO knows it today. We didn't like SWAPO. We were against SWAPO, my friend. Let me make it very clear to you today here. We were at war at times with SWAPO, and they with us, and I personally played a 'ole in getting an agreement on Cuban troop withdrawal and eventually we moved into the process of Resolution 435, and then SWAPO won the election, and we accepted that, we congratulated them, and then we said: The time has come to reconcile and to look at southern Africa in a wider spectrum, and work for peace. Those days were gone, but until the days were gone, they were not gone.

[Smythe] Thank you. Minister. Gentleman at the back, sorry.

[Unidentified correspondent] The foreign minister [words indistinct] from BBC Radio News, if we could come back to the matter at hand for a moment. Can you clear up one point for us. Did President de Klerk authorize the payments, and was he aware of them before the story broke in THE WEEKLY MAIL?

[Botha] President de Klerk was not aware, but the system did not require him to be aware.

[Smythe] Yes, the lady in the middle there?

[(Crusson)] Charlene (Crusson) of FINANCIAL MAIL. Minister, you claim that the money went to Inkatha for anti-sanctions purposes. Inkatha denied that they knew anything about the money. In the key speeches that were given at the two rallies, sanctions were mentioned in one speech only once. Now one question is: How can you have an anti-sanctions campaign when the organization is supposed to be involved in that campaign? [words indistinct] My second question is that the government has claimed that they have receipts of how that money was used. That's taxpayer's money. I want to know why isn't the government releasing evidence of those receipts, and why aren't we getting at physical proof that that money that was given to Inkatha was used for sanctions busting?

[Botha] It's a bit difficult to follow, you know. You ask 10 questions in one. Now with all respect, to start with, Chief Buthelezi said he didn't know about it. He said he didn't know about it. This is the point I want to make, and they gave the money back yesterday. That is the first question. Secondly, I've just told you that the auditor general of this government brought out the report. I will issue you a copy if you haven't seen it. And he is the watchdog of taxpayers' money, and he came to the categoric conclusion that we spent the money within the terms of the applicable legislation, and what does that legislation say? I'll try to find it, it's somewhere here.

[(Crusson)] Why don't you spell out how that money was used—precisely how many banners it bought, how many posters it bought...

[Botha, interrupting] I brought with me for today, if you want to come and see I will show it to you. There were a

number of buses that we hired. We assisted them in suitable banners, flags, with food, cool drinks, [word indistinct] I suppose.

[Smythe] So that information is actually available if...

[Botha, interrupting] Yes, but of course! Of course, it is available.

[Smythe] OK. Gentleman there?

[Du Plessis] Mr. Minister, I am Kenny du Plessis from [word indistinct]. Can you tell us from which department did the money come that went to Namibia, and what was the amount involved?

[Botha] I have not quite prepared myself for this question. What happened to us then? Various departments were allocated a certain part. I remember the party my department had to look after faired very badly, and in a quiet way, in a secret way we assisted them when it was [word indistinct] merely to print posters, etc. A lot of the funds went into training, education, on democracy. A lot of the money went into exactly these services, and supplying these services. My department was not in charge of that exercise. So, please, I admit that they know about it. I admit and say that we did it. I said for what purpose we did it because I was part of the cabinet discussion which approved this. But I didn't quite expect this question here today and I cannot give you round figures, but the sum was considerable. Well over 100 million [currency not specified].

[Smythe] The gentleman with the scarf. He has been waiting a while.

[Name indistinct] [words indistinct] Minister, I have a similar question to one that was asked Minister Vlok last Sunday, I believe. One of the documents that came out, it was [word indistinct] by THE WEEKLY MAIL and others, by Major Botha. Could [words indistinct] document hadn't been challenged, that the money was used to help the Inkatha's credibility versus a rising ANC. No mention of sanctions, no nothing about sanctions. I have [words indistinct], you mentioned that the money given to Inkatha was for Inkatha as a cultural organization [words indistinct] sanctions for [words indistinct] and thirdly, would you agree to funding ANC's cultural activities in that respect?

[Botha] Can I give you a question, because this is one of the points to which there is a lot of misunderstanding here? A certain Major Botha, I don't know why there are so many Bothas [laughter], but a certain Maj. Botha, Louis Botha on top of it [laughter], submitted to the police a memorandum which we never saw. It never came to Foreign Affairs. I first heard about it when I head about it in our media. [applause] It was the first time I heard about Maj. Louis Botha's letter. Since then I've checked. You're right. In his memorandum he deals with issues of a purely political nature. No good trying to deny it. But what was submitted to my department, what then happened was the police consulted with an official

of the auditor general's office as to whether they could pay for such a rally. But the purpose, according to the police, if you look at the document's recommendations toward the end, although the reasoning contained quite a lot of political remarks—the necessity to strengthen Inkatha as against the ANC, yes—toward the end they said they needed support for the rally to propagate anti-socialism, anti-sanctions, and stability and the need for peace. And they then consulted the auditor general's office who said no, this is not your line of function; its not your line of function. You ought to go to Foreign Affairs. And that is how I got into this mess.

[Smythe] But why should Foreign Affairs have actually been involved?

[Botha] Because it is the line function of Foreign Affairs to support financially and otherwise all bona fide efforts to combat sanctions, to circumvent sanctions, to resist sanctions, and to prevent an extension of sanctions.

[Smythe] OK. Gentleman in the ...

[Botha, interrupting] No, no. On the cultural thing, if you look at the statement I issued. I first said at that stage it was a cultural organization, then I said: But let us assume it wasn't? And I'm quite prepared to grant you the point, it is not a very good reason. I argued from the point of view that if they were a political organization, we did not pay to further their political objectives. We paid for buses, flags, banners, food, toilets, to help them to hold a big meeting where they stated a position they already had, it's known to all the world that they were against sanctions, and my department made sure that we propagated that idea abroad, and I'm not being sorry for it, and I am not apologizing for it.

[Smythe] Right. I think we've got...

[Unidentified correspondent, interrupting] Mr. Botha, whatever the motive for giving the money to Inkasha for the rally in March, some six weeks after the state president declared the new South Africa, it is a fact that that money strengthened the image of Inkatha artifically, that it subverted the political process, and that you know that what you'd done was wrong, which is why you had kept it secret until it was dragged out of you by the newspaper.

[Botha] Well, of course, if you want to ask me a question, you are welcome to do so, but if you want to pronounce judgment on me, I can do the same with you. I'm very good at it, and I want to say to you here this afternoon that it absolutely untrue what you are saying. We did the right thing. The ANC received millions, which they didn't account for, and which they used to burn people with petrol and tires during that awful year, and the fact of the matter was, that was our judgment at the time, and it is not correct that in March 1990 everything was rosy-dozy in this country. No sanctions were lifted. We were still very far.

Only in June came the Dublin Declaration, which started to hold out the hope. And then we worked on the removal of apartheid. Then we saw what had to be removed, et cetera. But in the meantime, over all these years, we had to prevent an extension of sanctions, and it was a very serious question. Bishop Tutu went right around the world telling all the world that the majority of black people supported sanctions. We knew it was not true, and my task was to get this message through to world leaders and decisionmakers.

[Correspondent] Sir, my question is (?lost). My question is very simply this, that you say we are now in a changed situation, and I wonder why you haven't admitted all this, this strange situation why you waited until it was brought up.

[Botha] The American Government, the British Government, the German Government, the French Government, all governments, have secret funds, all of them.

[Correspondent] [Words indistinct] that if we found they secretly supported political parties within the country, those governments would fall.

[Botha] I'm not so sure about (?the Americans), to be quite fran. [Words indistinct] I can at least show you a clean bill o. health, namely, the auditor general, who said I've operated in terms of the law of my Parliament. Now maybe we should repeal the law, maybe we should change the law in view of the changed circumstances, and it's just possible that President de Klerk might think in this direction, and I will support him if we think in that direction, because of the changed situation.

[Smythe] Right. This gentleman standing?

[Unidentified correspondent] [Words indistinct] of Berlin. You've been talking about the changed situation, the old era, the new era. These things happened in the old era. Mr. Vlok on Sunday night admitted that UWUSA is being funded until the end of this month. It is at this moment being funded. How do you justify that, 8 months after the new era?

[Botha] I'm very glad you put that question. Thank you, thank you very much indeed. The funding of UWUSA started years ago. Mr. Vlok is not even responsible for it. He didn't establish it, either, but he gave notice six months ago that within six months the funding would cease, long before the leaks, long before the revelations. Six months ago he indicated through his department to UWUSA: Your funding will cease in six months. Why? It takes a little time, because you are dealing with contacts, you're dealing with commitments.

[Smythe] Thank you...

[Unidentified correspondent, interrupting] If Mr. Vlok is not, is not responsible for those funds, then why did he...

[Botha, interrupting] I said he was not responsible for the establishment or creation of UWUSA, my friend.

[Correspondent] In other words, the money is coming from the police to UWUSA for those many years?

[Botha] Most probably, yes.

[Correspondent] Where is the money coming from, for UWUSA? Who is paying?

[Botha] From secret funds.

[Correspondent] Which funds, which department?

[Botha] We have a law passed by our Parliament, just as you journalists have one, exactly the same, only you are not so open about it. And in terms of that law the minister of finance allocates funds to ministers of the parties who can come and motivate, and can come and make out a case where we are dealing with sensitive matters; then we spend the funds on those sensitive matters. Looking back today, with hindsight, it is very easy in 1991, as I said, now that the summer is coming. Few people remember how bitter the coid. The fact of the matter is, if I invite certain visitors outside South Africa, I cannot change their minds. But it is our interests to get them here to meet the full spectrum of South African opinion, because we have always called on visitors who come to South Africa who see the truth. The some of them said look, it will not be possible or me to come unless I am supported. Then I go to a South African front organization, and there are many, and say look, I will pay you 10,000 rand. Invite this friend and let him come to South Africa. Do you know [words indistinct]? There is nothing wrong with this. We did it, and under certain circumstances I would do exactly the same.

[Smythe] Thank you. Gentleman at the back there, yes, you with the red tie.

[Correspondent] [name indistinct] from SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation]. Mr Minister, you keep on referring to ANC being funded millions by other organizations. So, does this mean that these funds which were being channeled through Inkatha secretly, which are now open, were being done to counteract what the ANC was receiving, at the same time trying to destroy the image of ANC by using Inkatha?

[Botha] If we spent I percent on Inkatha of what the ANC has received, it's a lot of money. There is no comparison. No government department spent money on Inkatha so that Inkatha can destroy, or fight, or participate in violence. You take UWUSA. My colleague says to me the idea was what was considered to be by quite a number of commentators in this country and outside this country, a relatively moderate trade union, who stood for stability, proper negotiations and bargaining, and were against sanctions because sanctions robbed the black people of their jobs. They decided to fund it for that purpose, which I do not.... [changes thought] I find it a bona fide purpose. The books were fully accounted for, no funds flowed to Inkatha as a political party, to keep its political party expenses going.

[Smythe] Now I'd like to put a point here which breaks away to a certain extent. The result of this whole business has dented the image and credibility of yourself, to a certain extent, the state president, possibly, having worked very hard to build that up between the two of you. How, possibly, are you going to repair that damage?

[Botha] By continuing exactly with the work that we've been doing. I feel that our image has been dented, you're right, somewhat unfairly. But eventually I'm accountable to the public of this country, and not to the media. We take the media seriously, but if I take into account the hundreds, if not thousands, of phone calls, letters, telegrams, pouring from all corners of this country, saying to me: Stand firm, you know that you were in a fight, carry on, we trust you. So we must just be a little bit careful here, whose judgment we accept on a dented image. That's the first point I want to make.

[Smythe] Well, the Organization of African Unity, for example, has said they are going to retain sanctions. Scandinavian countries are a little uncertain. There had been, obviously, a movement in America to say: Well, look, we told you so, etc.

[Botha] That was my concern. That's why I said to the ambassadors yesterday, we take it seriously. We take it seriously, because impressions were given by the media—and I'm sorry to say, some of our own media; they went overboard, they went overboard on this one. I proved it to you earlier here.

[Smythe] So in repairing this damage, your feelings are to continue with the mode of business that you and the state president have been doing in the past...

[Botha, interrupting] Nothing has changed on any basic element of this government's program. The party membership is open. We are still ready to negotiate tomorrow. We are in the process of completing the release of political prisoners. We've removed apartheid, and what we are now being judged on is what happened two years and 18 months ago in changed circumstances. I do find that really bitterly unfair.

[Smythe] Thank you, Minister. The lady in the red jacket?

[Correspondent] [name indistinct] Has the ANC ever received, or will they ever get, any funding from the South African Government, and will that even happen in regard to the returning refugees?

[Botha] Well, if they are prepared to stage a rally with an anti-sanctions theme, I'll give them exactly the same amount, if not more. [laughter]

[Smythe] Thank you. This gentleman on the end here? Yes? Would you identify yourself please?

[(Star)] My name is (Enoch Starr) from (?THE NEW NATION). Soon after the reform process started last year on 2 February, the whole world undertook to lift sanctions as much as the process unfolds. Why did the

government have to fund, or to fight sanctions through funding? Does that mean that the government was not prepared to move away from apartheid, therefore it needed to fight it through funding of [word indistinct]. Second question is: If you, Mr. Minister, say that there was nothing wrong in funding inkatha for that rally, why did you receive the money back?

[Botha] Because the leadership of Inkatha felt they didn't know about it, and in the circumstances they visited me yesterday in a very dignified manner, and requested me to take the money back. That answers that question. Now, on sanctions, let me make it clear again. In South Africa, roughly speaking, there developed a broad spectrum of opinion against sanctions which had nothing to do with apartheid. There were persons like Mrs. Helen Suzman against sanctions, right through to Buthelezi. There was a wide spectrum of persons and leaders and organizations and academics and media, and media editors, who were against sanctions. It had nothing to do with apartheid, nothing to do with an ideology. So no money was used to try or to have tried, to delay the removal of apartheid. I think it's generally known in this country that I worked myself hard to get apartheid removed, because we clearly saw that until we eventually do it, sanctions would not be removed. But it is forgotten that there was a critical time that, in the United States and elsewhere, an extension of sanctions were considered. And this is what we combatted.

[Smythe] A gentleman in the front here?

[(Simpson)] (Peter Simpson) from [words indistinct]. Mr. Minister, were some of these funds used abroad, for instance in Denmark? And would you be prepared in that case to tell us which Danish organization received money from you?

[Botha] No. As far as I know we've always been a bit scared of the Danes, and no, we stayed away from you.

[Smythe] Lady in the front here.

[Unidentified correspondent, interrupting] What about other countries?

[Botha] No, no, I can't speak for other governments. No, I can only speak for Foreign Affairs. As far as I know, no, we never expended any money in Denmark, or paid to any organization.

[Smythe] Thank you. Lady here?

[(Toby)] I'm (Pat Toby) from THE WEEKLY MAIL. You said that many projects were funded from secret funds. I'm wondering if some of the projects included action against the organizations which were prosanctions—like blowing up Khotso House, or COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] House, or various other mishaps which happened to their officials?

[Botha] I have no knowledge of these, and I do not hesitate in condemning them. Any form of violence, whether from the right, whether from the left—I have

worked my whole life to bring about a peaceful resolution for this country, and even the ANC knows that I am working for it. When Mr. Mandela wanted to visit hunger strikers he telephoned me at 8:30 [0630 GMT] that Saturday morning. I only got permission from President Mangope at about 10 o'clock [2000 GMT] that evening, and my deputy only got entry into the hospital at 1 o'clock [2300 GMT] that night. He knows me. I phoned him in Barcelona while we were in District Three, and I have tried my best to bring about reconciliation in this country. But the moment you speak to me about sanctions, then I'm sory I'm uncompromising, because sanctions robbed our black people of jobs; sanctions delayed the work people like me wanted to do; sanctions delayed the removal of apartheid; sanctions brought grief to all of us; sactions precluded me from playing a more positive role in Lesotho, Botswana, Zimbabwe, and elsewhere. I am dead against sanctions, and I will use rallies of Inkatha, or the DP [Democratic Partyl—not the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement]. [laughter] I will use rallies to further the anti-sanctions campaign.

[Smythe] The gentleman with the glasses here.

[(Sonkamp)] Mr. Minister, you quite...

[Smythe, interrupting] Could you identify yourself prior to that?

[(Sonkamp)] (Johan Sonkamp) [Words indistinct] say that all those secret funds are open for audit. But then, it's now open on the reporting side. Only the state president and the minister for finance can decide whatever will be reported to Parliament, and it goes even further. The auditor general can't even answer questions about his report in a committee of Parliament. That's been proved last year on 7 March in a meeting of the Committee for Parliament.

[Smythe] So what is your question?

[(Sonkamp)] I just want to know in this case how sure we are that we have a complete report?

[Botha] I think it can be (?improved), and I think that President de Klerk will be looking at this very issue you mentioned. Let me just—and I think, Penny, our friends here, our guests here, your guests, will be interested. The language of the legislation under which I operate reads: The money in the account shall be utilized on such categories of services as may be determined by the minister—I think in conjunction with the minister of finance—as being in the national intrest for the purpose of a) promoting the image of, and a positive disposition toward the republic; b) averting the psychologic attacks on the republic. Now, the major part of my budget is open, for open projects and open [words indistinct]. And then when sanctions came, sanctions—we really used a little bit of money on sanctions—I think over the five, six years, about 80 million [currency not specified], over five, six years. But on my special account in Foreign Affairs, the average per annum is 5 million [currency not

specified] on projects mostly in Africa and elsewhere of a sensitive nature where we also started irrigation schemes. But due to the abnormal diplomatic relations situation in which South Africa found itself, we had to operate clandestinely. We had to operate in such a way that we did not embarrass those African brothers of ours who wanted our advice, wanted to visit us, or wanted us to visit them and not embarrass them.

[Smythe] Mr. Minister, how would you respond to the ANC demand to freeze these funds?

[Botha] Well, irrespective of which government is in power, or will come into power, governments the world over at least will need funds for anti-espionage activity. At least a government must find out who is spying against you. That is the minimum, that's the bottom line.

[Smythe] A gentleman here, yes, with the striped shirt.

[Battersby] John Battersby from THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR. Mr. Botha, I must just say that your central argument that the funding to Inkatha was not for political reasons has been entirely unconvincing so far. What I would like to ask you is really to get away from the technicalities of whether Inkatha was a cultural organization or political party, and whether you were doing it for sanctions or whatever reasons. I think the point here this afternoon is, we are talking about the perceptions of the majority of South Africans, and that perception is that the government, after repeated and constant denials that it was not in collusion with Inkatha, has by your own admission been involved in funding Inkatha. How do you expect these people ever to negotiate with you again?

[Botha] We never said that were not in collusion with Inkatha. We said we were not in collusion of (?conniving) in the violence, in instigating the violence. So I would like to try to correct your own statement please. You said I am not convincing on Inkatha rally Well, that's your judgment, but the way it happened in our case is that the police approached my department. My department and my senior officials are responsible persons, investigated this properly and came to the conclusion that we could not afford this occasion not to propagate the idea that a large number of black people were interested, or were against sanctions. To me that was convincing. You are not a South African, you do not understand our problems, and you have not suffered from sanctions. [clamor]

[Unidentified correspondent] He is a South African.

[Botha] Then I regret, but then you obviously have not—then you have not suffered from the sanctions.

[Smythe] This gentleman here, with the...

[Dunn, interrupting] Kevin Dunn of ITN. Your government has accepted that the month after declaring open political activity in this country—more than a month—

you were secretly funding one of the parties in this country. Do you acknowledge tonigh; that that was a mistake?

[Botha] The ANC was also being secretly funded by a lot of governments.

[Dunn] Funding secretly one of the parties, always professed to be acting in good faith.

[Botha] President de Klerk never said in unbanning the ANC that he was going to capitulate and hand this whole country over, and that the government administration will come to a halt. He said the government administration and good government would continue, and it did, as far as we are concerned. If you want to put a question, put it, but you know, I'll need some time to argue with you. I have no doubt I will persuade you.

[Smythe] I think that gentleman is asking if you actually regret it. Were there any actual feelings of conscience at all, when this actually was approved at that time?

[Botha] It has never bothered my conscience when I have worked for the removal of apartheid, for the creation of jobs for blacks of this country, for the economic growth of this country, and I have not the slightest doubt that that is what I was doing.

[Unidentified correspondent] So you've not considered resigning?

[Botha] Not for this reason, There might be others. [laughter]

[Smythe] We'll deal with that on another occasion. The lady here, please?

[Unidentified correspondent] You said there had never been any collusion of conniving in violence. Could you possibly then say something about the dozens of reports we have had of Inkatha attacking people and then being comfortably escorted home by the police, and no arrests ever being made?

[Botha] I said earlier I think that a number of unfortunate, if not reprehensible, events did take place, which I can see—because, after all, my missions abroad report to me, and I often see some of the television materialcould have given rise to this perception. But that is exactly why President de Klerk went out of his way to arrange a meeting on violence. The first one, unfortunately, was not attended by the ANC; the second one was attended. I consider that to be progress. We will soon have this standing judicial commission, who would be able to look into exactly the charges or allegations that you are now making. I don't say they are untrue, but there was also the case when a representative of a certain newspaper admitted that what he photographed was only the transportation by the police of Inkatha men. On the very same day the police also transported members of the ANC, and in that way avoided a clash. Minister Vlok, my colleague, has exposed himself, his wife, on

occasion, going into heated situations, turbulent situations, to calm attitudes and emotions.

[Smythe] Thank you, Minister. The gentleman here? We have three more questions, ladies and gentlemen.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. Botha, you seem to feel that the media are treating you rather unfairly. But there are still some questions that don't seem to make sense. You, in your statement on the 23d, said that there was no rivalry, no violence, between the members of the two organizations, the ANC and Inkatha, at the time you made that funding. At that time there were in fact 4,000 deaths in that conflict between them. Surely that raises the serious questions, and it's just an untenable statement.

[Botha] Yes. I changed it when... [laughter] No, I changed it. What I meant was it was my recollection that Chief Buthelezi was the chief campaigner. I used two dates. We are now using the latter date. No, but read it, I refer to the November rally.

[Correspondent] I have it here.

[Botha] But all right, in November it wasn't the case. Surely it was not the case in November. [shouts] No, but I stated that in the third rally was funded in November 1989. Then it is correct to say there was no rivalry then, because... [shouts]

[Unidentified correspondent, interrupting] [Words indistinct] 4,000 deaths, Minister.

[Botha] There is a great difference between the two situations, the nature of the rivalry, and you know it as well as I do. Mrs. Winnie Mandela telephoned Chief Gatsha Buthelezi the evening her husband was released in February to thank him personally for the major decisive role he played in getting her husband released.

[Unidentified correspondent] That wasn't [words indistinct].

[Botha] No, wait a bit. At the meeting in March, a senior member of the ANC attended. This is what I said.

[Unidentified correspondent] But that didn't stop the violence. Your statement here is there was no violence, and no violence between the members of the two organizations. Surely, that's wrong.

[Botha] If in November, it certainly was not the position as it is today, you ought to know it.

[Unidentified correspondent] I do know it was carried...

[Botha, interrupting] Well, at that stage Chief Buthelezi appealed to his followers; so did Mr. Mandela in Natal. The two leaders were on the point of [word indistinct], you ought to know it.

[Unidentified correspondent] [Words indistinct] that the violence continued, Mr. Botha...

[Botha, interrupting] The violence continued among their followers, but none of you in the media described in the sense you describe it today, and you know it.

[Smythe] All right. We have one more question ladies and gentlemen, I'm sorry. Gentleman on the right here who's been with hand up for a while.

[Name indistinct] [words indistinct] (?VICTORIA NEWS). Minister, back to Maj. Louis Botha of the security police in Durban. The minister [words indistinct] thousand rand. He has said, he said in his memorandum to his superiors that Chief Buthelezi knew of the funding, and in fact was waiting for that funding. Chief Buthelezi and his [words indistinct] have denied that emphatically. Who's right here? Who do you believe?

[Botha] Well, it's... [laughter] You have touched the sorest of the sore points right now, because all I, I can only speak from personal experience. Number one, Maj. Louis Botha is an official of the South African Police, and really I ask you to bear with me, I cannot comment on staff in a department of another colleague. I can comment on Chief Buthelezi's reaction. Since that time I met with him on several occasions, several. As a matter of fact on several occasions the two of us were alone, discussing all sorts of interesting matters, and on not one of the occasions did he thank me, on not one of the occasions did he ever refer to it. All I can therefore say is that I think it is logical to have expected him, when we were alone, [applause] maybe just to have whispered to me, thank you for the assistance. [laughter]

[Unidentified correspondent] [Words indistinct] expect you to have mentioned to him that you were funding his party's activities. Would that not be logical?

[Botha] No, I don't think so, I don't think so.

[Unidentified correspondent] It's a lot of money.

[Botha] Is it really a lot of money for two rallies?

[Unidentified correspondent] I don't know what the budget of the South African Government is, but I think it's quite a lot of money; and when ministers are speaking quietly together in private, don't you think it would be entirely expected that they could discuss this matter between them?

[Botha] No. No, why should I? The rallies were organized by some of his people, and the police. It is not my duty [words indistinct] haven't told him. That was their duty, not mine.

[Smythe] All right. One last question. That wasn't really a question. Yes sir, last question.

[Name indistinct] [Words indistinct] NEWSWEEK magazine. Don't the revelations about the dirty tricks and the slush funds strengthen the ANC's call for an interim government to avoid this kind of political trickery, and to make sure that there are two organizations that have their hands on the [word indistinct] and not just one?

[Botha] Weil, in certain circles it probably will, depending what is your point of departure. But I would like to, you know, take you up on saying dirty tricks. I do not consider it a dirty trick to try and keep the economy of this country strong. I disagree with you most strongly. I do not consider it a dirty trick to invite visitors to our country to see the truth for themselves. I do not consider it a dirty trick to send South Africans, and help them to go to the United States and other places to talk to your senators and congressmen, in order to convey to them the truth. But I have never seen that as a trick. But, yes, may I in conclusion say this—do you feel quite comfortable, do you feel quite comfortable to have the present policies of the ANC being implemented in South Africa?

[Correspondent] I am a journalist. I don't give a damn.

[Botha] Well, that's a new one on me. Thank you very much. [laughter] Then maybe some of our media can learn a lesson from you. No, I believe that President de Klerk's integrity is above all unshaken, unshaken; he has done absolutely nothing that deserves the derogatory remarks that have been made of him. The ANC saw it as a golden opportunity to gain some of the lost ground, and they lost badly internationally, and I believe also inside this country due to some of their policy statements, and their alliance with the South African Communist Party. We would probably have done the same. But basically I have full faith in the judgement of the major responsible governments in the world, that they will not be deflected, their attention will not be distracted because not a single of the substantial issues have been affected. The only thing that happened was, it was revealed what happened 18 months ago.

Not a single, negative element was revealed indicating that this government had any other ideas than to bring about a new South Africa, based on one man-one vote, where apartheid will play no role, where racism will be removed, where fundamental human rights will be enshrined, will be entrenched. Not in a single respect on each of these fundamental issues has there been anything that happened that could detract from this.

[Smythe] Thank you very much, Mr. Minister. I'm sorry ladies and gentlemen. We have to wrap up. Thank you very much for joining us in the studio.

#### Offers No Apology for Funding

MB2507120791 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 25 Jul 91 p 1

[By Esther Waugh: "No Apologies Necessary, Diplomats Told: Storm in Teacup, Says Pik"]

[Text] An unrepentant Pik Botha yesterday told diplomats at a confidential briefing at the Union Buildings in Pretoria that the Government would not apologise for fighting sanctions in the manner that it had or for funding the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP].

The Foreign Minister said it was the Government's job to circumvent and fight sanctions. The funding to Inkatha, he said, was used for food, buses and banners.

Mr. Botha revealed that police had consulted the Auditor-General about funding for the IFP, but were referred to the Department of Foreign Affairs, which authorised the payments. Asked whether the Government was funding organisations outside the country, Mr. Botha said: "Not to my knowledge."

Diplomats also asked Mr. Botha whether It is leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi knew about the payments. He replied: "I don't know. I met him six or seven times during that time. I would have expected him to thank me, but he never did." Mr. Botha added that he did not raise the issue with Chief Buthelezi.

A senior IFP Cabinet Minister was yesterday scheduled to hand Mr. Botha a cheque for R [rand] 250,000.

Asked about the ANC [African National Congress] demand for the resignations of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan, Mr. Botha said the Government had never asked for the resignation of Winnie Mandela and Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing] chief Chris Hani, nor said that SACP [South African Communist Party] leader Joe Slovo could not "come along."

"Why are they doing this to us?" he asked.

Mr. Botha said that "for the life of me" he could not see why the secret Government funding of Inkatha would create a major obstacle to negotiations.

He said the Government would have to give the ANC and the public assurances that it was serious about the peace process.

Diplomats were also briefed about allegations of SADF [South African Defense Force] involvement in township violence by Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze and a colonel in charge of the special investigation team into violence, particularly violence on trains.

Captain Kotze outlined problems police experienced in gathering evidence.

The colonel said two of the three men believed to be responsible for the train attack at Jeppe station in September had been arrested. Three men had been arrested in connection with the attack on a train on September 13 and police were looking for a further three men. All those arrested were members of the IFP, he said, and the court cases would dispel allegations of SADF involvement in violence on the trains.

The colonel also revealed that police yesterday arrested two men in connection with the attack on a train on June 25. Firearms were confiscated and had been sent for ballistic tests. Mr. Botha was further asked why the Government did not respond immediately to the "Inkathagate" scandal. He reiterated President de Klerk's statement that it was necessary to first convene yesterday's Cabinet meeting and a State Security Council meeting on Monday [29 July].

#### Auditor General on Payments, Secret Accounts

MB2507122091 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1159 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Pretoria July 25 SAPA—The government's clandestine payment of public money to the United Workers' Union of SA [South African] [UWUSA] amounted to almost R [rand] 1.55-million over four years and was not irregular, the Auditor-General Mr Peter Wronsley said on Thursday.

Mr Wronsley in a statement in Pretoria said "no irregularities were found" in the transfer of R1,549,135.12 to UWUSA from the financial year 1987/8 until 1991/2.

The first approval for the funding of UWUSA from the SA Police's [SAP] special account was sought by the commissioner of police on September 1, 1987, and approved by the minister of law and order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, on September 18, 1987, Mr Wronsley revealed.

"Similar approvals were sought and furnished in respect of subsequent financial years. The relevant approvals have been verified by audit and found to be in order."

UWUSA is an Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP]-supporting trade union.

Admission that the government pumped taxpayers' money into UWUSA follows the disclosure on Friday last week that the Inkatha received at least R250,000.

Mr Wronsley repeated his remarks of several days ago that his department's audit did not question government policy. "Criticism levelled at the use to which properly authorized payments from voted funds is put, is a dispute for settlement at a political level."

Mr Wronsley said funds in the SAP's special account were, in terms of controlling legislation, "utilized for such services of a confidential nature as the minister of law and order may approve as being in the national interest, and for expenses connected with such services".

The money was initially transferred to the SAP's special account from the secret services account on the approval of the minister of finance. Mr Barend du Plessis.

"The first requisition to transfer funds from the secret services account to the special account for the South African Police was dated 12 September 1986, and was approved by the minister of finance on 22 January 1987. Subsequent requisitions were made annually and likewise properly approved," Mr Wronsley said.

#### Vlok 'Lied' About Union's Accounting Records

MB2507162891 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1624 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Johannesburg July 25 SAPA—Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok lied when he said on television last Sunday that "each and every cent" of taxpayers' money had been accounted for, the Johannesburg-based WEEKLY MAIL will reveal on Friday.

Secret police documents in the hands of the newspaper showed Mr Vlok had been so worried about the money given to Inkatha's union wing, the United Workers' Union of South Africa [UWUSA], that he asked for an internal inquiry, the newspaper's editor Mr Anton Harber said on Thursday evening.

"This inquiry found that UWUSA had not even kept any books, had no financial records and was unable to account for any of the funds given to them," he said.

Other revelations in the WEEKLY MAIL on Friday will show that:

- —Five Inkatha men knew of the police funding for Inkatha and UWUSA:
- —UWUSA was not only funded by the government, but was a joint project launched by the police and Inkatha;
- —African National Congress President Mr Nelson Mandela's famous "Throw your weapons in the sea" speech was impeded by the security police;
- —the security police plotted with the conservative student organisation, the National Students Federation [NSF], to form a rightwing umbrella body to counter to the Mass Democratic Movement early last year; and
- —NSF local officials were at the time acting on the orders of the police and they met to plan projects, initiatives and strategies.

#### PAC's Malwetu Calls for Government's Resignation

MB2507115691 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1119 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Johannesburg July 25 SAPA—PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] President Clarence Makwetu called for the resignation of "the whole apartheid Parliament", SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reported on Thursday [25 July].

Mr Makwetu, addressing the fourth national congress of COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] in Johannesburg, said he was not going to call for individual ministers to resign in the wake of the Inkatha funding scandal, but the entire government must give way.

Mr Makwetu added the only credible way the country could be democratised was through a democratically elected constituent assembly. He asked the COSATU congress to come out clearly on where its delegates stood regarding the formation of a principled united patriotic front.

It was the first time a PAC president has addressed South Africa's largest trade union federation.

#### KwaZulu Police Official Denies Role in Operations

MB2507185891 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1841 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Durban July 25 SAPA—KwaZulu Police [KZP] Commissioner Maj-Gen Jac Buchner on Thursday refuted media reports that he had played a "pivotal role" in the secret operations of the South African security forces over the past decade.

Gen Buchner was responding to media reports in which former self-confessed hit-squad leader, Capt Dirk Coetzee, alleged the KZP commissioner had been involved in planning attacks from South Africa into Maputo, Angola, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland.

"I deny I played a pivotal role in secret operations. I was a member of the security branch and my task was intelligence gathering," he said telephonically from Ulundi on Thursday.

Gen Buchner said he had been involved in operations into Maputo and Lesotho only, and added that his involvement had not been secret.

"My involvement is available for public scrutiny as I gave evidence of my role in these operations in the Supreme Court and lower courts."

Gen Buchner described media reports saying he had played pivotal roles in secret security force operations as "mischievous".

#### 25 Jul Press Review on Current Issues

MB2507115391

[Editorial Report]

#### THE STAR

De Klerk 'Wrong To Stall' on Funding Scandal—Referring to the disclosures of secret government payments into Inkatha bank accounts Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 25 July in a page 24 editorial asks: "Why has President de Klerk chosen to wait so long before pronouncing on the scandals which threatens his very credibility?" De Klerk is "wrong to stall." One reason being aired in diplomatic circles is that "the Government simply does not recognise the magnitude or implications of the Inkatha-funding affair and the allegations about SADF [South African Defense Force] involvement in train massacres. This is a truly frightening prospect: If the Cabinet is so far removed from reality that it believes it can simply ride this storm without taking firm—not half-hearted—action to clear

its name, negotiations are in peril." "The Government has been hit by an avalanche. It must start digging itself out: The mud is hardening."

Right-Wing Extremists 'Menacing'—"There is something decidedly menacing about South Africa's right-wing extremists," warns a second editorial on the same page. "Their bombing of Pretoria's Hillview school and their threats to bomb other schools too unless officials stop allowing blacks to use empty white schools, as well as their warnings to blacks who buy white farms and to whites who sell these farms to them, have left no doubt about their willingness to resort to mayhem and death unless they get their way."

#### BUSINESS DAY

Criticism of Reserve Bank's Monetary Policies—"If further proof were needed, June's unchanged 15.2 percent year-on-year inflation rate indicates that the Reserve Bank's monetary policies come nowhere near providing a solution to South Africa's rising prices," says a page 8

editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 25 July. Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals "found a scapegoat earlier this week when he blamed workers and the wage increases they have succeeded in winning for inflation. But laying the blame for inflation on the country's workforce and shrugging off factors such as government's budget deficit as of lesser importance seems blinkered."

#### SOWETAN

Wrong for Government To Deny Inkatha Funding Disclosures—"As was to be expected, there is much weaving, ducking and diving going on over the cash-for-Inkatha scandal," notes a page 12 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 25 July. "All this is smoke, of course, designed to hide the real issue. We do not complain about that. Any organisation in trouble tries to hide the reality. But it is important that the reality stays clear. What happened here was wrong. For senior men in the Government to have denied something which later turned out to be true is also wrong."

#### Angola

#### Government Accuses UNITA of Violating Peace

MB2507122891 Maputo Radio Maputo in English 1100 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] The Angolan Government has accused the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement of Jonas Savimbi of murder, theft, and appropriating vehicles in the northern province of Bengo. The government also accuses UNITA of occupying the locality [as heard] of Bengo where they have been carrying out these actions. The government intends to present the accusation today to a meeting of the joint international monitoring commission set up under a cease-fire agreement signed in May in Portugal between the two sides.

A source in Luanda told the Mozambique News Agency that UNITA forces have been occupying the municipality of (Dembo-Quixaxi) in Bengo since May. It has set up its own structures in the town. According to the source, UNITA has been intimidating the population and killed three civilians in the municipality. These acts are in violation of the cease-fire agreement reached between UNITA and the Angolan Government.

#### Joint Commission Lacks Consensus on POW's

MB2507204691 Luanda ANGOP in Portuguese 2005 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Luanda, 24 Jul (ANGOP)—A lack of consensus about the release of UNITA-[National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and Angolan Government-held prisoners of war caused the seventh plenary meeting of the CCPM [Joint Political and Military Commission] to go into recess today. Venancio de Moura, deputy foreign minister and spokesman for the CCPM session, has said that the meeting went into recess because of a lack of consensus on the first point on the agenda, the release of the prisoners of war.

Deputy Interior Minister Fernando da Piedade Nando has described this session's interruption today as the first setback of the CCPM since the signing of the peace accords. Indications are that the crucial issue was that UNITA did not accept the term amnesty used by Colonel Fernando da Piedade when the UNITA prisoners were released last Saturday [20 Jul].

At the end of the meeting today, the representative of the Angolan Government told the media that he stood by what he had said, adding that he had said that the amnesty comes in the wake of the peace accords, so there should be no room for confusion. This incident would allegedly have caused UNITA to suspend the formal release of its prisoners on 21 July, as agreed by the two sides.

Surprisingly though, UNITA representatives announced in Luanda today that the release of Angolan Government prisoners had begun on 21 July. This also contradicts

their statements at a news conference on the same day. Abel Chivukuvuku, one of UNITA's representatives within the CCPM, has said that the prisoners seen by the Red Cross in Jamba have already been released and may be taken home any time. The Angolan Government, however, has denied any knowledge of prisoner releases and is insisting on an identical ceremony to be held at UNITA's Jamba headquarters because no changes have been made to the accords.

Abel Chivukuvuku noted that there were important political issues the Angolan Government must clarify, notably the case of the amnesty [words indistinct]. He said that that issue will be raised during the meeting of CCPM on Thursday [25 Jul].

#### UNITA Confirms POW Release Set for 27 Jul

MB2607073591 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Text] The prisoners of war held by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] in Jamba will be released on 27 July. This was revealed by a source close to UNITA last evening. The information was confirmed by Abel Chivukuvuku, UNITA's spokesman on the CCPM [Joint Political and Military Commission].

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Good evening. Mr. Chivukuvuku?

[Chivukuvuku] Good evening.

[Reporter] I learned from Mr. Felix Miranda that UNITA will release government prisoners in Jamba next Saturday [27 July]. Can you confirm this?

[Chivukuvuku] Well, it is not exactly a release as such because the prisoners became free citizens from the time they began to be interviewed by the Red Cross. What we shall have next Saturday is a formal ceremony as was the case here in Luanda on 20 July. Accordingly, the formal ceremony will take place on 27 July. Now that we have been able to iron out the differences that existed, we hope to coordinate with the government so that the ceremony can take place next Saturday.

[Reporter] Has the government been informed of the release of prisoners set for next Saturday?

[Chivukuvuku] The government has been informed of the ceremony.

[Reporter] I believe the government will send representatives to Jamba for this ceremony?

[Chivukuvuku] Certainly, that is the norm. Delegations from the government, observers, UNITA representation on the CCPM, journalists, will all attend the ceremony. [end recording]

#### MPLA Notes Disparities in UNITA's POW List

MB2607133091 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1220 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Report by correspondent Abilio Mandate]

[Text] The departure of a government delegation to Jamba to attend a ceremony marking the release of prisoners will be decided upon this afternoon when the Political Subcommission meets at Costa do Sol Hotel this afternoon. Deputy Interior Minister Fernando da Piedade and Deputy Foreign Minister Venancio and two senior officers of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola officers held a well-attended press conference this morning. One of the reasons for the press conference is connected with some statements made this week by some UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] officials on the release of prisoners of war. Fernando da Piedade spoke of the need to restore the truth concerning the lists presented by UNITA and the government.

[Begin Piedade recording] Well, seeing that the UNITA delegation preferred to use a mechanism arising from the implementation of the accords, instead of discussing these issues with us at CCPM [Joint Political and Military Commission] meetings, we are now going to present figures. The gentlemen of the press are aware that the two parties presented two lists-namely, the list of prisoners that one party thinks the other party is holding and the list of prisoners it is holding. The list presented by the government contains 1.192 names made up of 217 officers, 51 noncommissioned officers, 642 soldiers, 271 policemen, and 11 civilians. When I speak of civilians I am referring to highly placed cadres who were abducted in the wake of certain UNITA operations. It it is difficult to calculate the number of people abdcuted following war operations. This case is open and we think that only with the implementation of [words indistinct] will this problem be overcome.

UNITA presented a list that included only 372 Angolan Government prisoners. Only the names of (?55) people compare in the two lists. They are two officers, four noncommissioned officers, including one [word indistinct] sergeant, 48 soldiers, and only one civilian. UNITA fails to list 1,162 soldiers and other citizens. including 215 officers and 271 policemen. It should also be noted that the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] visited UNITA- controlled areas between 23 and 26 October 1990 and gave us a list of 210 people that included 11 officers. UNITA's list, however, only mentions the names of 22 of those 210 people, including two noncommissioned officers. No officer is included in that list. Comparing UNITA's list with the list given us by the ICRC, the names of 173 people are missing, including 11 officers. [end recording]

#### Lesotho

#### Minister Reaffirms Commitment To Elections

MB2407105291 London BBC World Service in English 0430 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Interview with Foreign Minister Pius Molapo by John Mukela in London on the "Focus on Africa" program; date not given—recorded]

[Text] It is nearly three months since Lesotho's military strongman Major General Justin Lekhanya was over-thrown in a palace coup. The new regime has improved its standing by lifting a five-year-old ban on political parties, and reaffirming its commitment to hold elections in 1992. But there have been problems, too: The economy remains in a parlous state, and there are questions marks over the loyalty of the Army. At least one coup plot has allegedly been uncovered and Lekhanya loyalists arrested. Lesotho's Foreign Minister Lieutenant Pius Molapo is in London at the moment. John Mukela asked him how secure the new administration felt since his government seized power on 30th April:

[Begin recording] [Molapo, laughs] Well, I want to underline the words: your government took over on the 30th of April. What happened is that I have always been a minister in the military government and what happened on the 30th of April was a kind of a reshuffle of government, even though you realize that some of the top brass within government had to move out.

[Mukela] You call it a reshuffle. It wasn't obviously a straightforward reshuffle. It was a coup, wasn't it? I mean, you did purge, you know, people, and it was a coup, wasn't it?

[Molapo] Well, you can call it a coup or a purge. I want to call it a kind of the way the Army does its own things and the way people are removed Army-style.

[Mukela] So, what has happened to Gen. Lekhanya now?

[Molapo] Well, Mr. Lekhanya is still around in Maseru. He is still conducting his normal, usual business. He still goes to the bank, walks around town. Nothing has happened to him.

[Mukela] There was an incident very recently where your troops surrounded his house and he was searched. It would suggest that he is still being harrassed. Does he pose a threat?

[Molapo] Well, he is not being harrassed. You know, security cannot be (?likened to magnetics). If you feel that there is still something you want to go through, as the security police you just... [changes thought] you do take such measures, like we did take with Mr. Lekhanya.

[Mukela] So, now that your government is in power, what is the trend of events in as far as returning the country back to democratic rule is concerned? Do you see yourself as staying forever as the military?

[Molapo, laughing] You know, when the military took... [changes thought] made changes in 1990, we came out in the open that by June 1992 we want to return the country to civilian rule. In fact, it is this government, the military government, which has come out openly to work toward democratizing and affording people their basic right—that is, open a participation in electing those who are concerned with the actual decisionmaking, in the running of the country. We are committed to whatever oath we took in saying we will return the country to democratic rule by June 1992. I am not saying we are going to stay forever. In fact, we are saying June 1992, even earlier than that, we are going to leave and go back to the barracks, and those who want to retire are going to retire.

[Mukela] What are you going to do yourself? Will you willingly return back to barracks? You are, after all, a military man.

[Molapo] Yes, I am going to go back to the barracks to serve the Army. All the expertise and experience I have gone through as a minister of labor and as a minister of foreign affairs, I want to plough all that back into the Army.

[Mukela] And what is the timetable now for that transition to civilian rule?

[Molapo] Well, when I left home we had just met with two experts—one from Canada, one from the United States—who had come to help us to prepare a bill of material, be it money, other items we might need for the eventual elections. [end recording]

#### Discusses Former King Moshoeshoe

MB2507144091 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Interview with Foreign Minister Pius Molapo by John Mokhele in London on the "Focus on Africa" program; date not given—recorded]

[Text] It is not only the people of South Africa who are following the progress of negotiations between the government and the ANC [African National Congress] with some interest, but neighboring black states as well. None more so perhaps than Lesotho, which is completely surrounded by South Africa. The country is a reservoir of labor for the mines in South Africa and obviously vulnerable to total annexation. It is also a kingdom, but the former regime of Major General Lekhanya fell out badly with King Moshoeshoe who is now in self-imposed exile here in Britain.

Well, Lesotho's Foreign Minister Lieutenant Pius Molapo is in London at the moment. John Mokhele asked him if he was worried if Lesotho might be swallowed up by a future black-ruled South Africa.

[Begin recording] [Molapo] People can talk whatever they want to talk. The thing is: What is the reality? How do you swallow a country which has been there since time immemorial? What do you do with the customs, the (?well-being) of the people? I think what we will do, when South Africa reemerges as a liberated country, we will have a rather close economic cooperation.

[Mokhele] Now, your sort of king, I mean, what you are saying now is like you still want to maintain Lesotho as a separate entity within the larger southern African context. What is going to happen to the monarchy?

[Molapo] Well, if Lesotho remains as it is at the moment but cooperates closely economically with whatever is going to emerge it means we still have our king, our own government, our own way of doing things.

[Mokhele] Do you see King Moshoeshoe, former King Moshoeshoe going back to Lesotho?

[Molapo] Well, we have always said he is free to come back home whenever he wants to.

[Mokhele] As king?

[Molapo] As Mr. Bereng Seisso.

[Mokhele] Generally, how do Basotho see the fact that you stripped him of his power?

[Molapo] Well, it is a long story in our history where the king has always had clashes and grudges with whatever government that was in power, which led eventually to his removal by the Army.

[Mokhele] You are saying that he has never been a popular king?

[Molapo] Well, he has never really been a man people could sort of look to as a king, if one had to take the actual concept of a king. He has been somebody who has been a king because he sat on throne but he has been somebody who has been really sort of aligning with political parties.

[Mokhele] Now, you yourself are a military man after all and you are now saying that the king had sort of aligned himself with certain political views and ideologies and had involved himself in political activity. But what about yourselves? I mean you yourselves have not come into power democratically? So how can you reconcile the fact that you are condemning the king for his political views?

[Molapo] It's not a matter of condemning any one man, it's just stating facts as they are. It is true that when you do have a government, military government that goes into power by way of a coup, so long as its maintains effective control it becomes government, but for a king to sort of meddle in politics, it is unbecoming.

[Mokhele] Now, obviously, you are sort of looking at the monarchy in a very idealistic way if I may say. What about examples like Swaziland, for instance, where the king has certain powers? I mean, traditionally the king does have certain powers.

[Molapo] In Swaziland.

[Mokhele] No I mean, what I would say is kings in Africa have certain sorts of political power. It may not be constitutionally in the same mold as Western political power but it is power all the same. Now how do you deny your king some say in the country's running?

[Molapo] When Lesotho became independent we adopted a Westminster model of constitution and it is the very same king who agreed that he is going to be like queen in England.

[Mokhele] So therefore that's it, that's full stop.

[Molapo] That is what he is saying, also, that he wants to go back to the 1966 Constitution which says he is a constitutional monarchy. In the proposed draft constitution we have said that he should remain as a constitutional monarch.

[Mokhele] Do the people agree with that?

[Molapo] They have always agreed. [end recording]

#### Madagascar

#### Opposition Coalition Seizes Two More Ministries

AB2407162091 Paris AFP in English 1558 GMT 24 Jul 91

[By Jean-Pierre Campagne]

[Text] Antananarivo, July 24 (AFP)—Madagascar's coalition of opposition parties took possession of two more ministries on Wednesday without any resistance from troops stationed outside. The occupation of the Transport and Public Works Ministries brought to six the number taken over since Monday by "ministers" named by the Hery Velona (Lifeblood Committee) to form a transitional government.

Despite a state of emergency and a ban on public gatherings, almost 300,000 demonstrators gathered in a central square and marched to the ministry buildings at midday near Lake Anosy in the centre of the capital. The front ranks squatted down calmly in front of the three lines of soldiers armed with assault rifles and truncheons.

Two soldiers confided to AFP that their weapons were not loaded. "We are here because we have no right to strike," they said. Albert Zafy, the eminent heart surgeon designated prime minister by the Front which he heads, began negotiations with the captain in charge of the 200 soldiers in order to gain access without any violence to the ministry offices.

Singing and chanting demonstrators burst into applause when the captain said Mr. Zafy and the two new "ministers" would enter the building under the protection of his men. The opposition has been adamant about gaining access without breaking in and, once installed, summoned a notary to make an inventory of office material.

A major problem has been lack of keys: when Evariste Marson arrived at the Finance Ministry, he had to wait 24 hours before being able to get inside because the janitor was nowhere to be found. And once inside, he could not get into the minister's office proper because the legal title-holder Leon Rajaobelina had taken the key with him.

The opposition has been staging almost daily mass demonstrations since June to force President Didier Ratsiraka, in power since 1975, to step down along with his government and scrap the Marxist constitution he introduced for the Indian Ocean island. "If Ratsiraka thought in Malagasy, he would already have resigned," commented Rahantavololona Andriamanjato as the troops escorted her into the Public Works Ministry to take possession. Trained as a public works engineer, she is the wife of veteran politician Pastor Richard Andriamanjato, the once pro-Moscow activist who is acting as spokesman for the opposition front.

Mr. Zafy said there would be a pause for consolidation before he continued to name members of the transitional government as he had been doing in front of the crowds since Monday.

The committee has also decided against trying again to take the radio station following its failure on Tuesday to do so, when, in almost the only violence of the protest campaign, 13 people were wounded as troops turned on them with tear-gas.

A government paper reported that a paramilitary police lieutenant who fell into the hands of the crowds was killed, but the local Red Cross and the opposition denied formally that there had been any death. The policeman was seriously injured, however. "The radio station will fall eventually, with a bit of insistence." Mr. Zafy said, anxious that the mass uprising should remain nonviolent.

The country's largest daily paper, the independent MIDI-MADAGASCAR, failed to appear Wednesday. In a statement read to the demonstrators, it said the authorities had censored seven of its articles, including an editorial blaming the government for the current crisis. But the other independent paper, MADAGASCAR TRIBUNE, printed without submitting to the censorship stipulated by the state of emergency, stating in a head-line: "Our job continues".

Opposition sources said two of the alternative "ministers" seized by armed men overnight Monday were believed to be in a camp for political detainees at Arivonimamo 39 kilometres (30 miles) from the capital.

A Western diplomat summed up the latest developments by saying Admiral Ratsiraka was "the last bolt in place" preventing a changeover of power.

#### Radio on Opposition Failure To Occupy Station

EA2407221691 Antananarivo Radio Madagascar Network in Malagasy 1600 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] Demonstrations by forces opposing the government still continued today. They made an attempt to enter the national radio building yesterday but failed to do so because of the barrier formed by the security forces and soldiers. It is worth reminding you that so far they have managed to enter some departments.

#### Opposition's Public Works Minister Arrested

AB2507192091 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 25 Jul 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The opposition in Madagascar is continuing its campaign to install its own shadow ministers in government offices. Getting no satisfaction from President Ratsiraka for its demand for a full-scale national conference and a new constitution, the opposition coalition Forces Vives embarked on a series of demonstrations and strikes over the past two months. It has now set up its own transitional government with its own cabinet. Early this week, a number of opposition ministers did manage to get in some ministries, but a similar attempt today failed dramatically. From Madagascar, Voyanga Rakatouarivelo telexed this report:

[Begin studio announcer recording] This morning, the opposition government minister of public works was arrested. Rahantavololona Andriamanjato, who is the wife of the opposition leader Richard Andriamanjato, was arrested as she tried to enter the Ministry of Public Works for the second day running as part of the opposition's campaign to install their own government in the capital's ministries.

This morning the real minister of public works, Colonel Jean Emile Tsaranazy was waiting for her at the entrance to the ministry. As soon as she arrived, he ordered 12 soldiers who were with him to arrest her. Scuffles broke out as her supporters tried to stop the soldiers from arresting her and the soldiers fired shots in the air and threw tear gas canisters to disperse the crowd. There were reports that five people were hurt in the disturbances. The crowd then made its way to the town hall to demand the whereabouts of the three opposition ministers now in detention. The mayor was not able to tell them where the three were being held, but promised to come to the 30 May Square where the opposition regularly hold a sit-in to give them more information tomorrow. The crowd then made their way to the square where they heard speeches from the leaders of the opposition.

The opposition has now made the release of their three ministers a condition for continuing to participate in the committee whose tasks is to prepare the way for a national conference. Representatives from the government, churches and the opposition met today and were

supposed to meet again tomorrow. But, after the opposition's threat, it is not longer certain that the committee meeting would go ahead. [end recording]

#### More on Andriamanjato Arrest

AB2507214491 Paris AFP in English 2126 GMT 25 Jul 91

[By Jean-Pierre Campagne]

[Text] Antananarivo, July 25 (AFP)—Madagascar police on Thursday detained Rahantavololona Andriamanjato, the "minister" for public works designated by the opposition Lifeblood Committee. Public Works Minister Lieutenant Colonel Jean Emile Tsaranazy led the special G6 commandos that arrested Mrs. Andriamanjato at the public works ministry, according to journalists on the scene. The ministry was occupied by opposition militants Wednesday.

Lt. Col. Tsaranazy put a pistol to Mrs. Andriamanjato's throat and forced her into a white car which drove off after hooded soldiers cleared a path by firing into the air. The police fired teargas grenades into the ministry as they left. Soldiers stationed some 20 metres (60 feet) from the ministry did not intervene but fled immediately after Mrs. Andriamanjato was taken away.

Lt. Col. Tsaranazy, 40, was trained at Saint Cyr, the French military academy, after graduating from the Malagasy military academy. He was an official of the Public Works Ministry's civic and rural development service before being made minister. Mrs. Andriamanjato, the only woman in the opposition "government," is married to the Reverend Richard Andriamanjato, spokesman for the Lifeblood Committee.

Two other opposition "ministers" disappeared overnight Monday. One, Jaonarivelo, a judge named to the Post and Telecommunication portfolio, was believed to be held at a camp west of Antananarivo. It was not known whether the other, Jean-Jacques Rakotoniaina, "minister" of industry and mines, was detained or whether he went underground, the Lifeblood Committee said Thursday. The opposition is demanding the resignation of President Didier Ratsiraka, who came to power in 1975, and the scrapping of the Marxist Constitution in force in this Indian Ocean island republic.

#### Opposition Spokesman: 'Snatched' Minister in Coma

AB2607095091 Paris AFP in English 0936 GMT-26 Jul 91

[Text] Antananarivo, July 26 (AFP)—An oppositionnamed minister snatched from his home in the Madagascan capital by paramilitary police is in hospital in a coma, an opposition spokesman said Friday as the dissidents prepared for talks with the government. Posts and Telecommunications "Minister" Jaonarivelo, designated on Monday as a member of a transitional government by the opposition Lifeblood Committee, was detained on Tuesday. Two other opposition-named ministers have been detained in similar circumstances under a state of emergency decreed by President Didier Ratsiraka to crack down on the opposition campaigning for an end to his hardline 16-year rule.

Mr. Jaonarivelo suffers from diabetes "and is perhaps short of insulin," said Roger Ralison, leader of the opposition Madagascan Republican Party. Sources at the military hospital confirmed that Mr. Jaonarivelo had been admitted to the emergency ward but refused to comment on his condition. Mr. Ralison said the opposition coalition would meet later in the day with the government to call for the release of all three "ministers", "but not to negotiate."

The self-appointed "transitional" government was due to head for the May 13 Square here later in the day, for a further mass rally in defiance of a government ban. Also Friday, about 40 army soldiers surrounded the Information Ministry, used as a base by an opposition grouping. But the soldiers, toting AK47 assault rifles, moved out when the prime minister of the transitional government, Albert Zafy, asked them to leave. They were applauded by several hundred people as they left the area.

#### Government Reports Ministries Still Functioning

EA2607100091 Antananariyo Radio Madagascar Network in Malagasy 0330 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Text] The current situation can no longer be hidden from the majority of the population—those in the capital in particular: Opposition demonstrations are still continuing. A new strategy has been adopted which, according to the opposition, consists in putting into office their respective ministers in accordance with a decision taken by them at 13 May Square.

The government's view, however, is that this constitutes a forcible seizure of power and is illegal, as we reported the day before yesterday. A communique issued by the government indeed said that since last Monday, 22 July, there have been forcible entries onto the premises of some ministries' headquarters in the capital and that transfers of functions allegedly took place in these ministries.

What should be known, however, is that the communique issued by the government said that all the ministries of the government headed by Prime Minister Colonel Victor Ramahatra are still functioning and that the respective appointed ministers are still persevering with their assigned duties.

#### Government Imposes Press Censorship

EA2607101091 Antananariyo Radio Madagascar Network in Malagasy 0330 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Text] Measures have been taken in response to the situation now prevailing in the capital. One of the measures adopted by the government in order to restore peace and order and which (?affects) journalists is press censorship. Everybody knows that newspapers are one of the tools for spreading news—one of the most valuable tools. We spoke yesterday with journalists and they said that the return of press censorship has not come as a surprise to them given the [words indistinct] these last few days.

No country, whether it is a developed or developing one, can pretend not to have press censorship. Newspapers are often profit-making operations—advertisements are their main component and they must aim at increasing their sales through stories attractive to readers.

#### Mozambique

#### ICRC Admits Military Uniforms Sent to Renamo

MB2507134091 Maputo Radio Maputo in English 1100 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] The International Committee of the Red Cross, the ICRC, has admitted that clothing found in a Red Cross warehouse in Mozambique last week, really is a shipment of military uniforms and the shipment is much larger than originally believed, according to a senior ICRC official in Maputo. The official, (Martin Arlman), said that by yesterday, Red Cross personnel and Mozambican security officials had discovered four tonnes of uniforms in warehouses in the Mozambican port city of Beira.

When the Mozambican Government made its accusation last Sunday [21 July] that the Red Cross was importing uniforms for the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] terrorists, it said only a little more than 200 kg of uniforms had been found. The Red Cross responded at the time by saying that these were only a few items that could be bought in any (?army surplus) store in Europe by members of the public.

Mr. (Arlman) said that the Red Cross now accepted that a huge amount of real military clothing was involved. It was destined for areas controlled by Renamo. He said that although the shipment had been sent to the ICRC by the German National Committee of the Red Cross, that committee had actually subcontracted a private German firm to collect the clothing. Mr. (Arlman) was unable to identify the German company involved in what he described as a scandalous operation.

He also revealed that a Swiss national, Hans Ulrich [Spiess] who had been detained in Beira in connection with the scandal last Sunday had now been released yesterday. [sentence as heard] He had been given 48 hours to leave Mozambique.

#### Renamo: Government Plotting To Kill Dhlakama

MB2507180491 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1731 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] has accused the Mozambican Government of planning to

assassinate Afonso Dhlakama, its president. Speaking to AIM [Mozambique Information Agency] in Rome, Renamo Information Secretary Vicente Zacarias said that his organization's counterintelligence services are in possession of information that the Mozambican Government intends to assassinate Dhlakama, whether at his Gorongosa base or abroad.

Vicente Zacarias claimed that was the reason for Dhlakama's cancellation of his meeting with Jeffrey Davidow, U.S. deputy assistant secretary for African affairs, in Rome last week. That source also disclosed that the Mozambican Government forces recently launched an air attack on Renamo's Gorongosa bases. Asked whether Renamo's central base was surrounded by the governmental forces, Vicente Zacarias replied that it had only been an air bombardment and not a military offensive.

AlM approached a member of the Mozambique Government delegation about Renamo's claims, which he described as ridiculous and nonsensical. He said that the worst that could happen to the peace process would be Afonso Dhlakama's assassination [words indistinct] it would render Renamo even more [word indistinct].

#### 4 Detained for Possessing Radioactive Material

MB2607113091 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Press communique issued by the Ministry of Information; date not given]

[Text] Four Mozambican citizens found in possession of two lead ingots suspected of containing toxic or radioactive material were detained in Maputo recently. Investigations are under way to discover the exact nature of the ingots' contents and origin. It is recalled that Mozambican Security Minister Mariano Matsinhe told Radio Mozambique on 20 July that the Mozambican authorities were investigating reports of the possible existence of toxic items in the country. The minister was reacting to an article published by a German journalist who alleged that radioactive material was being sold on the black market in Maputo.

#### Namibia

#### SADF Covert Operations During Elections Viewed

MB2207081391 Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN in English 12 Jul 91 pp 1, 2

[Report by Editor Gwen Lister: "Anti-SWAPO (South-West African People's Organization) Drive: New Revelations Over 435 Tricks"]

[Text] Further evidence of SA [South African] interference in Namibia's 435-election process has come to light showing that the SADF [South African Defense Force] and former SWATF [South-West African Territory Force] DID provide army vehicles to many of those

involved in the arti-SWAPO drive before and during the 435-election process, in a covert operation which has come to the attention of this newspaper.

THE NAMIBIAN can now also reveal that several witneses, including the then Officer Commanding the SWATF, General Willie Meyer, 'lied' under oath before the O'Linn Commission of Inquiry into Malpractices, when questioned about such practices at the time.

THE NAMIBIAN is in possession of comprehensive lists of SWATF and SADF vehicles which show that these were issued with civilian number-plates and given to persons and organisations either in the employ of the military or sympathetic to the anti-SWAPO drive in the 1989 election campaign.

The scheme, masterminded by Military Intelligence just before the election process and set into motion shortly before the disbanding of the SWATF, was a complicated procedure involving collaboration between the military, a person or persons in the office of the Receiver of Revenue, Traffic Department and certain car dealers.

Key people in the military in this regard were Colonel As Kleynhans (COMOPS) [expansion unknown] and Comandant Theo Naude (Counter Intelligence).

The car scheme worked briefly as follows: If a request was made for a vehicle by, for instance, Etango [expansion unknown], or other army agents, a member of the SWATF's transport pool would take a military vehicle to traffic testing grounds, where a certain traffic officer, on payment of R[rand]10 and a further R5 would fill in a roadworthy certificate without testing the vehicle.

Two Windhoek motor dealers, Spes Bona and Danlou, co-operated in the scheme (apparently for no personal benefit). The dealers had been given GST [general sales tax] books by a highly-placed source in the office of the Receiver of Revenue (which were not officially issued) and would write out cash invoices in the name of the agent who was to receive the vehicle. The GST books were later destroyed, according to a source.

The dealers then completed all the paperwork to register the vehicle and the costs of registration, licence and new numberplates were paid out of the COMOPS 'secret fund'. The recipients of the vehicles were then informed that they could collect their vehicles.

According to a source, the process was a slow one, as they could not move too many vehicles at any one same time, for fear of discovery. The vehicles, well over 100 mostly 4 x 4s, were issued over a period of months, the source added.

The source added that the lists in possession of THE NAMIBIAN were not complete, as other branches of the army (such as Operations) apparently had similar schemes on the go.

After the SWATF was officially disbanded under the not-so-watchful eye of UNTAG [UN Transition Assistance Group], the COMOPS centre was moved to the Voortrekker terrain near Goreangab, where regular monthly meetings took place. Over a period of two nights, military vehicles stored at Luiperdsvalei, were sneaked out of the depot, and taken to a plot outside Windhoek where they were hidden in the bushes and camouflaged.

There were, according to a source, about 70 vehicles, mostly 4 x 4s. Army insignia were later removed from the vehicles which were then painted and appropriately disguised as civilian cars. [Metric] Tons of foodstuff were similarly stored to be later used for bribery (koppesmokkel).

The car scheme, which had started while the SWATF was officially still in existence, continued in this manner after its disbanding.

Key SWATF personnel, similarly, continued operating after the disbanding of the army. COMOPS moved out of the Bastion and into the homes of individual members.

Captain H. Kellerman reportedly had a computer with a modem at his home and was in contact with Pretoria on a daily basis. Others who worked from their homes included Colonel As Kleynhans, his righ-hand man, Commandant Sarel Karstens (who managed the army's 'secret fund' from his home), Major Fanie Krige, Commandant Zorro Kariko, Sergeant de Klerk, Henk Rheeder, Lieutenant G. Botes, Lt Lisa Auret, Commandant Martin Krige, Commandant Pretorius, Colonel Jacobs, Commandant Calla Theron, Major Buks Niewenhuys, Major Celia d' Assonville and Comandant d'Assonville.

The 'destroy process', added the source, started months before the arrival of UNTAG. Important military documentation was plac d in trunks and sent to military archives in Pretoria, and other information was shredded and burned in SWAWEC [South-West Africa Water and Electricity Supply Commission] boilers.

When SWAWEC refused to allow this process to continue after 435 was set in motion, the material was taken to the dumps, petrol was poured on it and it was burned.

After the elections, the source said, the vehicles handed out in the above manner were supposed to be returned to the Military, but many were not and there was little the army could do to get them back. Most of the vehicles in possession of army officers were returned and later taken back to South Africa.

The vehicles were mainly the property of the SWATF, although some of them were SADF vehicles.

In this way, the Military also took many vehicles out of the country which should have been handed over to the new Government. The lists of vehicles given out in this manner show that they went to key COMOPS personnel as well as groups and individuals sympathetic to the anti-SWAPO cause.

Etango, with which the army long denied any cooperation, received many 4 x 4 vehicles in this manner. So too did the Ombili Foundation and other key 'agents' such as Aloys Gende of Kavango (now the DTA's [Democratic Turnhalle Alliance] parliamentary spokesperson on defence).

In the case of B. Likando vs SADF/SWATF (case no K19/89 before the O'Linn Commission), a complaint was lodged that the SADF and SWATF continued to work for the DTA and other parties after April 1.

The Commission was unable to substantiate this claim, and the allegations had been denied under oath by, among others, C. Ntelamo, B. Mapenzi, C. Mafwila, R. Mukwendwa, N. Mwamba.

All of the abovementioned witnesses lied, as the list show they were all in possession of vehicles given to them by the SADF/SWATF. The O'Linn Commission said of the above: "They claimed to have bought their vehicles and this was confirmed on inquiry by the motor dealers in question"!

#### DTA Leader: 'No Apologies' for RSA Aid MB2507173291 Johannesburg SAPA in English

MB2507173291 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1717 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Windhoek July 25 SAPA—The leader of Namibia's opposition Democratic Turnhalle Alliance [DTA], Mr Dirk Mudge, told SAPA on Thursday night he had no apologies for receiving South African [RSA] Government funding in an attempt to defeat SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] in the independence elections in 1990.

"We welcome the fact this has come out," he said, referring to SA [South African] Foreign Minister Pik Botha's announcement that his government had spent over R[rand]100 million on anti-SWAPO parties. "There is nothing wrong with getting money from other countries. We were funded from many sources. SWAPO also received money from other countries," he said. He added he did not know the exact amount or when exactly the contributions started.

Mr Mudge said he was surprised at all the fuss. "It's history now and I think nobody can complain." He added: "All the political parties participated in the election, we have a good constitution and there is peace in the country. "Why worry," Mr Mudge continued. A further statement on the matter, he said, would be issued later on Thursday night.

#### Indiscipline in Police Force Causes 'Exodus'

MB2207074591 Windhoek TIMES OF NAMIBIA in English 16 Jul 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Askaris Our Shame"]

[Text] Indiscipline within the Namibian Police, especially within the ranks of former PLAN [People's Liberation Army of Namibia] combatants, or the so-called special constables, is rife and has allegedly resulted in an exodus of policemen from the previous dispensation.

The TIMES OF NAMIBIA has learnt from a top official within the Namibian Police Force that it is especially within the ranks of the former askaris, who became special constables in the Namibian Police after the Defence Force rid itself of them, where police discipline is totally ignored.

Apparently orders from senior police officers are being totally ignored "especially when the orders are given by white officers.

"If you think the Namibian Defence Force has problems with undiscipline, you should see what is happening in the police force. Believe me, its worst and we can't do a thing about it.

"The Ministry of Home Affairs is aware of these problems, but ignores them totally for the sake of affirmative action," the senior police officer told the TIMES.

According to the TIMES source the undiscipline within the Namibian Police has led to a totally tarnished public image. "It's as bad as before independence, people don't trust the police any longer."

He said a good example of this, was the rising crime rate, and also the fact that a single policeman, or even two policemen, could not longer patrol certain areas of Windhoek after sundown.

"Nowdays when we sent out night patrols in Katutura we have to send out a team of at least six men, and even then their lives are in danger.

"Our policemen are actually scared of doing their job in Katutura, and I can't blame them.

"The people of Namibia have lost all respect and trust in us, and sometimes we wonder why we continue doing the job. It has become the most unthankful job in the country, I think we are even less respected by the public than our traffic officers.

"Recently we were ordered by the government (Ministry of Home Affairs) to stop all taxis which are overloaded, but it was in vain. Even that has degenerated into a too dangerous job.

"Taxi drivers and their passengers scream abuses at us, and even threaten us with violence. So we were forced to give up, and we just let overloaded taxis go by."

According to another source some 40 policemen have left the force in the past six to seven months. "And its not only white policemen. Its mostly policemen who worked under the previous dispensation and who have decided they can not work under present conditions. They have just given up. And who can blame them.

"These professionals have to work with men who can't even pass their police exams, but who nevertheless are still given a passing mark."

Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Hifikepunye Pohamba, told members of parliament during the National Assembly's last session, that orders had been given that an A-symbol had to be given to students [policemen].

## **Defense Ministry Defends Army Chief's Competence** *MB2207075591 Windhoek TIMES OF NAMIBIA*

MB220/0/3391 Windhoek TIMES OF NAMIBIA in English 12 Jul 91 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "Full Confidence in 'Jesus'"]

[Text] The Ministry of Defence has full confidence in the ability of Army Chief, Jesus Hawala, and it has no doubts about his competence.

The Ministry was reacting to an article in THE TIMES OF NAMIBIA which questioned Hawala's competence to run the army, and asked whether or not the Ministry of Defence should look into the possibility of replacing him.

Although the Ministry of Defence yesterday said it had no doubts about his competence, it is a known fact that originally the Ministry denied that Hawala had been appointed as Army Chief. His appointment was also postponed a number of times, before he was finally appointed late last year.

In a statement yesterday, the Ministry said that with regard to the responsibility of the Army Commander for recent shooting incidents involving members of the Namibian Defence Force [NDF], "the Ministry would like to make clear that the soldiers involved in the shooting incidents were not under the command of Army Headquarters, rather, their units are controlled by the Ministry of Defence."

The Ministry of Defence also reiterated its condemnation of any unauthorised acts which may have been committed by individual members of the NDF.

"The Namibian people can rest assured that the Ministry of Defence will cooperate fully with the civil authorities in their investigation of these incidents.

"The Ministry will also do all it can within its power to prevent illegal acts by members of the Defence Force in future."

According to the Ministry, several days before these incidents took place, the Minister of Defence had directed the Chief of the Defence Force to make recommendations for improvements in the discipline of the NDF.

The latest spate of shootings involving members of the Defence Force was not the first. Last year in October a similar incident occurred, and at that time the Ministry also promised to take steps to ensure that such an incident was not repeated.

"The responsible Defence Staff are considering these issues while the Chief of the Defence Force visits units of the NDF with the Deputy Minister of Defence, to look into the circumstances which occasioned these incidents.

"An Action Plan containing proposals for improvements in discipline is expected to be with the Minister by the end of the month."

Addressing the issue of the presence of members of the Namibian Defence Force in Rehoboth, the Ministry said that since Rehoboth was an integral part of the territory of the Republic of Namibia, the government would decide whether or not such a presence was necessary.

"No individual should expect to dictate to the Ministry of Defence the withdrawal of our forces or bases from any part of Namibia. This includes Rehoboth."

Originally there was no mention of stationing a military force within Rehoboth town itself. During his budget speech, the Minister said NDF-members were due to be stationed in Oamites and not in Rehoboth town itself.

#### ANC Member Said Priming for Government 'Reigns'

MB2407193891 Windhoek Namibian Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1900 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] representative in Windhoek, Abe Chikane, says the National Executive Committee of the ANC will announce his successor before he departs on 12 August. Chikane told the NBC that he would be leaving Namibia to continue with a course in international economics in New York. He said the course was in preparation to take over the reigns of government in South Africa.

Chikane said he had accomplished the tasks for which he was assigned to Windhoek, among them the establishment of an ANC mission. He said he enjoyed the close relationship with the government and people of Namibia, and became part of their problems, most of which would be duplicated in his own country. He said he would concentrate on southern Africa, and in particular on countries such as Namibia and Zimbabwe in his studies, and would stay in touch with academic and government institutions in the respective countries.

#### Swaziland

#### Local BCCI Director Says Bank Will Not Close

MB2307174091 Mbabane Radio Swaziland Network in English 1600 GMT 23 Jul 91

[Text] The managing director of the bank of Credit and Commerce International, BCCI, in Swaziland, Mr. (Bik Bakapaki), says his bank will not be closing down at the end of this week. Denying reports that the bank will close following an alleged scandal involving the bank throughout the world, (Mr. Bakapaki) said although negotiations are currently going on for the change of ownership for the bank, the local branch will not be closed.

#### Central Bank Authorized To Operate BCCI

MB2407180091 Mbabane Radio Swaziland Network in English 1600 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] The minister for finance, Mr. Sibusiso Barnabas Dlamini, has authorized the Central Bank of Swaziland to obtain an order of the High Court judge to take possession of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International, BCCI. In a statement, Mr. Dlamini said that was an interim measure adopted for the purpose of protection and assurance of all depositors.

He said the intervention has become necessary because of reports of problems affecting associated and affiliated institutions in many other countries. The order will vest full and exclusive powers for the BCCI with the Central Bank. This included the power to continue operations without interruption. In addition, the order will enable the Central Bank of Swaziland to guarantee the contractual rights of the staff of the BCCI.

Immediately after taking possession, the Central Bank will take an inventory which will be transmitted to the High Court for publication. This will include a full statement of condition which can be used as a basis for negotiating with parties interested in acquiring control of the business of the Swaziland institution.

#### Zambia

#### Kaunda Meets Opposition's Chiluba on Constitution

MB2307202891 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 23 Jul 91

[Text] The United National Independence Party, UNIP, and the Movement for Multiparty Democracy, MMD, have agreed to form a joint group of experts to look at the proposed republican constitution. The group is expected to be formed this evening. This was announced this evening by the Right Reverend Stephen Mumba who chaired the meeting between UNIP and the MMD at the Cathedral The Holy Cross.

UNIP was represented by President Kaunda, while Mr. Frederick Chiluba represented the MMD.

Bishop Mumba expressed the hope that speaker of the National Assembly will agree to briefly break off from debating the Constitutional Bill to allow the group of experts to conclude its business before the bill can be (?passed). He described today's meeting between the MMD and UNIP as having been friendly, with both parties understanding each other.

#### 'Common Ground' Sought

MB2407084291 London BBC World Service in English 0430 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Report by correspondent Mike Hall on the "Focus on Africa" program, in Lusaka; date not given—recorded]

[Text] Yesterday, an important series of talks got under way in the Anglican Cathedral in the Zambian capital, Lusaka. The talks were between the ruling UNIP [United National Independence Party] party led by President Kenneth Kaunda, and the opposition MMD [Movement for Multiparty Democracy], led by Frederick Chiluba.

The two sides have been at loggerheads over the draft constitution which was published last month, and the meeting, which is being mediated by the church, is designed to find common ground between the two sides over the constitution which will bring in a multiparty system to Zambia. It seems some kind of agreement was reached last night, as Mike Hall reports from Lusaka:

[Begin Hall recording] Very little was revealed yesterday evening by the chairman of the meeting, Bishop Stephen Mumba, on the five-hour talks between the delegations of the two main political parties.

Briefing reporters at the Cathedral, Bishop Mumba said the meeting had agreed to set up a joint committee comprising experts from both parties. Both the Movement for Multiparty Democracy and the ruling party, UNIP, have constitutional lawyers on their teams who will be expected to work long hours to hammer out an agreement on draft amendments to the bill.

They have very little time. This parliamentary session was supposed to have ended this week before before UNIP heads off to Kabwe, in Central Province, for a national council meeting followed by its party congress.

However, according to a member of the MMD delegation, President Kaunda has agreed to one of the MMD's main demands, that cabinet ministers be appointed from Parliament. The bill presently enables the president to appoint all his ministers from outside Parliament.

Yesterday's agreement to form a joint party committee is an important success for the church, whose leaders intervened last week to try and prevent the political crisis from worsening. Delegations from both parties were told by church leaders in no uncertain terms that enough was enough. Long-suffering Zambians wanted a compromise, not interparty strife. [end recording]

#### Talks End With Resolutions

MB2507183091 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Talks between the ruling UNIP [United National Independence Party] and the Movement for Multiparty Democracy [MMD] aimed at examining areas of conflict regarding the proposed republican constitution ended in Lusaka today with the presidents of the two political parties agreeing on the resolutions of the meeting. Bishop Trevor Mumba, who chaired the talks, said at the end of the four-day talks attended by President Kaunda and MMD President Frederick Chiluba at the Cathedral of the Holy Cross this afternoon, that the two leaders had pledged to work together with immediate effect on the betterment of the nation.

Bishop Mumba said the church, which was the mediator at the talks, was happy with the new spirit shown by UNIP and MMD of accepting to work together and hoped this gesture will strengthen day by day. Details of the resolutions adopted by the two political parties were, however, not immediately available to the press.

#### UNIP's Zulu Comments on Talks With Opposition

MB2607154091 London BBC World Service in English 1515 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Interview with Grey Zulu, secretary general of Zambia's United National Independence Party, by Fiona Stanza; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] President Kaunda is still in a conciliatory mood, it seems. After meeting with the main opposition party, the Movement for Multiparty Democracy, MMD, he is going to make amendments to the controversial constitution currently in parliament. Among the objections of the opposition were the maintenance of a state of emergency, the extent of presidential powers, and the appointment of ministers from outside parliament. On the line to Lusaka, Fiona Stanza talked to Grey Zulu, the secretary general of the ruling party, UNIP [United National Independence Party], and asked him if President Kaunda had in effect given in to the MMD.

[Begin recording] [Zulu] No, he has not given in. I think if we put it that way, it creates a feeling of a loser and a winner. He appealed to all opposition parties, the MMD included, and he has been listening to their views. [sentence as heard]

[Stanza] It took a lot of negotiation by the church to get the two sides together. Why do you think (?it was necessary)?

[Zulu] Discussions started a long time ago. The president has met with the university students in order to hear

their views on the matter. He has met all other opposition parties in the country. He met the church leaders, who suggested what was taking place a few days ago in order to find the best solution for our country.

[Stanza] So will the church now play a leading role?

[Zulu] Well, all of them have played leading roles. We thank all of them. We thank the church. We thank the students from the University of Zambia and indeed other political parties because all of them have played a very important role to reach what we reached yesterday.

[Stanza] [Word indistinct] President Kaunda has shown himself to be a man of conciliation. Will he remain in his present position as head of the party?

[Zulu] Definitely. He will remain the head of the party and he will also stand as president of the Republic of Zambia. I can say that confidently.

[Stanza] Despite competition from within the party?

[Zulu] Oh yes. That is what democracy means. [end recording]

#### Government May Soon Lift State of Emergency

MB2607152291 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1443 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Text] Lusaka July 26 SAPA—The Zambian Government has yielded to opposition demands that the state of emergency be lifted as soon as possible. The United National Independence Party (UNIP) government and the opposition Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) agreed on Friday they should start earnest talks on the mechanics of how the state of emergency should be lifted.

A two-day joint meeting of UNIP and the MMD in Lusaka resolved the constitutional crisis with an agreement that a cabinet should be appointed from parliament with a few nominated members from outside.

The proposed martial law as indicated in the draft constitution now under debate in parliament will also be amended while parliament would discuss amending the creation of an Upper House which most members said was a waste of money. The meeting was the first in which the government was prepared to hold talks with opposition constitutional experts from the MMD.

#### Kaunda Reiterates Independence of Judiciary

MB2107193891 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 21 Jul 91

[Text] President Kaunda has said that the Chief Justice will remain more superior than the proposed president of the Court of Appeal, saying the party and government were not up to stripping anyone of their powers. Reacting to what he termed rumors circulating in the country. President Kaunda said the present government valued the judiciary, and as such its independence would be maintained.

Speaking when he met judges of the Supreme and High Courts of Zambia, led by Chief Justice Annel Silungwe, Comrade Kaunda said to avoid trouble, all institutions must help in building a united Zambia. Dr. Kaunda said he was meeting the judges so that they could discuss ways of harmonizing the changes that were taking place in the country as the Third Republic was drawing close. Speaking later, Chief Justice Silungwe thanked the president for the invitation at which he said crucial matters had affected the well being of the nation would be discussed.

#### Masheke Discusses Cabinet, Constitution Bill

MB2507184291 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] The Government has accepted proposals that the Cabinet will have to be appointed from parliament in the Third Republic. The prime minister, General Malimba Masheke, disclosed this in parliament today, as he wound up debate on the second reading of the Constitution Bill. Gen. Masheke said the decision to include amendments in the bill to facilitate appointment of the Cabinet from the house, followed a lot of consultations made within UNIP [United National Independence Party] and with opposition parties and other organizations on the matter.

During the debate on the bill earlier, some members of parliament from the backbench strongly criticized the appointment of parliament [as heard] from outside as contained in the bill. The prime minister said UNIP is a listening party and therefore considers other people's views on the bill.

Gen. Masheke indicated that other provisions in the bill such as the establishment of the Constitutional Court and the question of martial law may have amendments which will be brought forward when the bill comes to [word indistinct] committee [word indistinct] the bill passed through the second reading marking the end of nearly two weeks of heated debate on the future constitution of the country. The bill will now come before parliament for [words indistinct] some time next week.

The government has allayed fears that the state of emergency would be prolonged, saying parliament will have the powers to invoke or suspend the instrument. Legal Affairs Minister and Attorney General Comrade Frederick Chomba told the House that when parliament dissolves, the members can still be called upon to invoke or suspend the state of emergency, depending on prevailing circumstances.

Debating the Constitution Bill before it passed the second reading today. Mr. Chomba said the longest a state of emergency would be able to stay is three months.

#### Official Says Mealie Meal Prices 'Decontrolled'

MB2507185491 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Minister of Commerce and Industry Mulongwe Musungo confirmed in Lusaka today that the government has decontrolled the price of mealie meal with immediate effect. The measure is contained in Statutory Instrument Number 97 of 1991, dated 23 July, and signed by Comrade Musungo. The instrument revokes the statutory instrument which had controlled the price of mealie meal. Last month, the government increased the producer price of maize from 500 to 800 kwacha per 90 kg bag but the price of mealie meal remained the same.

#### Zimbabwe

#### Finance Minister Introduces New Budget

MB2507193891 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1926 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Harare July 25 SAPA—Zimbabwe's Finance Minister Bernard Chidzero kicked off the country's new financial year marking the start of an ambitious economic reform programme with a wide range of tax cuts to boost economic growth. He also announced that the budget deficit fell just inside the forecast 10.4 percent of GDP [gross domestic product] by 0.1 percent, and said that next year's deficit was estimated to be cut to 7.6 percent of GDP.

Delivering his 1991/92 budget speech, the finance minister also announced a growth rate for 1990/91 of only two percent, a year characterised by a slump in agricultural production of 6.6 percent. This year's budget is viewed as one of the most important steps of the first year of the Five-year Structural Adjustment Programme to attempt to arrest the country's serious economic decline and to stop a potentially explosive situation caused by rampant unemployment.

To carry the programme through, Mr Chidzero has won promises of US dollars 225 million in foreign donor aid—grants and concessional loans. However, nearly every one of the countries who have promised the finance has made it clear that the cash will be provided only if the government enacts a series of fiscal reforms and monetary promised by Mr Chidzero. These would include meeting deficit reduction targets, slashing subsidies, curbing state spending and relaxing the heavy controls on economic activity.

Government revenue for 1991/92 is set at ZD [Zimbabwe dollar] 8,175 million (R [rand] 7,030 million), while there appears to be ambiguity over the expenditure figures, given by Mr Chidzero in his speech as ZD 9,637 million (R8,288 million), while the estimates of expenditure tabled in Parliament amount to ZD 11,169 million (R9,605 million). The latter figure is 21.4 percent up

on last year's spending. The forecast deficit of 7.6 percent of GDP next year was within government's objective of reducing it by a minimum of two percent a year, Mr Chidzero said. However, observers say there appears to be little sign of major cuts in spending for individual ministries.

The biggest slice is taken by the Ministry of Education—at ZD 1,823 million (R1,567 million), up 12 percent on last year—while defence spending, the second largest allocation, rose 5.3 percent to ZD 1,145 million (R984 million).

The Ministry of Political Affairs—a government establishment for the furthering of the ruling ZANU (PF) [Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front]) Party's aims, and funded by the Exchequer—had its spending cut by 30 percent to ZD 34.6 million, but details show that the entirety of the cut is due to the dropping of spending on compulsory national service. The ministry is one of the main targets of criticism of government misspending.

Spending on the acquisition of land for resettlment, in a year which President Robert Mugabe has promised will feature a revolutionary land reform programme, comes to a meagre ZD 15 million (R12.9 million). The economic reform plans calls for a total reduction in the civil service of 25 percent of staff, starting with a cut of six percent in 1991/92.

Official documents issued with the budget statement show, instead, a growth of 2,581 new government employees, to 191,497 (the figure excludes the uniformed services). The most dramatic increase in spending for the year ahead is on repayments on loans, which nearly doubles from ZD 706 million (R607 million) to ZD 1,363 million (R1,172 million), apparently the result of sharply increased borrowing to fund imports to fuel the massive industrialisation envisaged by the programme.

Zimbabwean business circles are expected to applaud Chidzero's tax moves, however. From April next year the minimum level of income tax rises 33 percent to ZD 4,800 (R4,128) year and the bands of tax rates are to be widened, which Mr Chidzero said would lead to tax reduction for all categories. The top marginal rate of income tax will also be cut five percent to 55 percent and, corporate tax is to fall from 45 percent to 42.5 percent. He also announced 22.5 percent tax relief for business setting up in rural growth points, while allowances for motor vehicles, staff housing, training investment and business conventions were boosted.

Hoes and animal-drawn implements were exempted from sales tax to boost production in peasant farming areas, while he also boosted the duty free level for gifts sent through the post from ZD 50 (R38) to ZD 200 (R172). He drew cheers in parliament when he cut the customs duty on petrol by 10c a litre, but the house burst into uproar when he announced an increase of 7.5c in the excise duty on a bottle of beer.

#### **Burkina Faso**

#### Presidential Decree Gives Political Amnesty

AB2607113091 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Ordinance No. 910044 on general amnesty issued by the Presidency in Ouagadougou following the 24 July cabinet meeting]

[Text] In view of the 2 June 1991 Constitution, Decree No. 910302 of (?the Presidency) of 5 June 1991 appointing the Burkinabe Government, Decree No. 910303 of (?the Presidency) of 18 June 1991 rectifying it, and Law No. 15/year 61/ of 19 May 1961 regulating amnesty, the Council of Ministers at its 24 July meeting orders:

Article 1: All the political or opinion offenses committed since 5 August 1960 and that resulted in sentences or prosecution have been amnestied.

Article 2: The effects of the present amnesty are those provided for by Law No. 15/year 61/ of 19 May 1961.

Article 3: Anyone who has taken note of these offenses in discharging his duties is banned from recalling them in whatever form or from letting the jail sentences, disciplinary actions, and forfeitures of rights nullified by the amnesty subsist in whatever documents. Only the minutes of the verdicts and judgments filed with the judicial authorities do not come under this ban.

Article 4: The present ordinance will be implemented in accordance with the laws of the state.

#### Ghana

#### Tamale Situation Detailed: Death Toll 11

AB2607061591 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] The Ghanaian Government has belatedly issued a statement about an incident involving the military and festival goers in the northern town of Tamale. At the weekend, there were a number of deaths and injuries after a military vehicle plowed into a crowd at the fire festival and in ensuing riots. Now, the government has spoken. From Accra, Ben Ephson telexed this report:

[Begin studio announcer recording] According to an official statement issued last night, a military vehicle returning from the town of Kpandai has plunged into a crowd of people celebrating their annual fire festival or Bungum. The statement said that in all, eight people had died and several were injured.

The driver of the military vehicle and two other military personnel were among people admitted to hospital for injuries sustained in the ensuing confusion. The statement said that following the accident, an angry crowd entered the residence of the regional secretary, looting and damaging several items of property.

After this, the crowd proceeded to the town where they rampaged through drinking bars and the market. The official statement said there was some speculation that certain ethnic groups, who felt their grievances had not been favorably dealt with, had taken advantage of the situation. It added that while an investigation into the circumstances of the accident had already begun, a delegation of senior military officers was today meeting with the families of the dead and injured as well as with the local chiefs to offer apologies and condolences for the accident.

Meanwhile, I contacted Tamale at around noon today and sources there said the tension in the town is still quite high. According to the people I spoke to, the residents of Tamale were incensed at the incident, and they recalled other incidents involving civilians and the security forces. They said that only a few weeks ago, a policeman had shot dead a dealer in pharmaceutical drugs. The police alleged that the dealer who was on a motor bike at the time, had refused to stop at a police checkpoint. The sources I spoke to also recalled an incident in which a customs official had shot and injured a driver of a truck. On both of these occasions, no action was apparently taken against the security forces. Some Tamale residents that I talked to rejected the government's statement that the damage had been caused as a result of tribal tension. They said that the incident was due to the seemingly continuous harassment of the civilian population by armed security men.

Meanwhile, sources said that the death toll had risen today from eight to 11. The burial of the dead is taking place in Tamale and a curfew declared yesterday is still in force. [end recording]

#### **Government Group Consoles Families**

AB2607102091 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] A government delegation, led by a member of the PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council], Alhaji Mahama Idrissu, has met chiefs and Muslim leaders and the bereaved families of the eight people who were killed at Tamale in an accident involving a military vehicle last Monday night and appealed to them to allow peace to prevail in the municipality. Other members of the delegation were the deputy secretary for foreign affairs, Dr. Mohammed Ibn Chambas; the deputy secretary for agriculture crops, Mr. Ibrahim Adam; and Alhaji Rahim Gbadamosi, deputy director general of the Ghana Education Service. The rest were Brigadier (Dogbatchey), 2d Brigade Commander; Colonel Coleman, director of military operations; and Forces Sergeant Major, Warrant Officer Isaac Frimpong.

The delegation expressed government's sympathy and condolences to the bereaved families. Alhaji Mahama assured them that the government is ready to assist in the burial, while steps will be taken to convey the injured to Accra for further treatment.

Brigadier (Dogbatchey), who spoke about the military approach to the incident, said the military will carry out its own investigations and appealed to the affected people to cooperate. He said it will be necessary to establish a contact point at which the military and the civilian population in the municipality could exchange information to speed up investigations. Brigadier (Dogbatchey) asked members of the bereaved families and relatives of the injured to appoint people to represent each dead or injured person to enable the military to know their wishes. He assured members of the bereaved families that action would be taken to compensate them. On current military operations in the municipality to ensure peace and order he said people could lodge complaints against any soldier who misconduct himself with a group leader.

The Chogu Na [traditional chief], Salifu Mahama; and the Lamashi Na, Abu Seidu, expressed gratitude to the government for sending down a delegation, saying: This shows that the government is concerned about the welfare of the people in the municipality. The chiefs appealed to members of the bereaved families to cooperate with the government and bury whatever bitterness they might harbor against the military.

#### Liberia

#### NPRA To 'Encamp' NPFL Troops Before Polls

AB2607104191 Gharnga Radio ELBC in English 1900 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] The NPRA [National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly] government says it will encamp NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] soldiers before the general elections in Liberia.

[NPRA] Information Minister Joe Moriba said the NPRA government is optimistic that the ongoing peace process emanating from the recent conference held in the Ivory Coast will put an end to the 16-month-old civil conflict in Liberia. Minister Moriba told a team of foreign journalists that since the Yamoussoukro summit, the (?rate) of uneasiness in the country has reduced

considerably as evidenced by the inter-visit of residents behind the warring lines. Minister Moriba, however, denied reports that President Taylor had commenced campaigning. He said President Taylor's Executive Council meetings were aimed at consulting with elders and citizens on issues of national concern. The information boss said after the elections all armed factions in the countries will form a national army since after all the Liberian people will no more allow factional movements.

#### NPFL To Participate in Election Commission

AB2607104891 Gharnga Radio ELBC in English 1900 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Summary from poor reception] NPRA [National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly] Vice President Enoch Dogolee says the National Patriotic Front of Liberia is prepared to appoint members that will work on the election commission expected to be set up by ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States]." He said some tasks to be carried out by the election commission in Gbarnga during the electoral process are the responsibility of ECOWAS. "He said the NPRA government is putting finishing touches together for its participation in the general and presidential elections."

"A release from the vice president's office observed: Because of the present security situation in Monrovia, which is causing danger for residents there, the NPFL is negotiating with ECOWAS for the establishment of (?an) office in Monrovia before the arrival of representatives of West African countries in Liberia to monitor the election process." Vice President Dogolee also made it clear that the NPFL wanted to open an office of the NPFL in Monrovia for the betterment of Liberian people residing outside NPFL territory.

"Commenting on the formation of a political party, the vice president said [words indistinct] count on the leader of the NPRA government, President Charles Gankay Taylor. He is optimistic that the leadership of this country will come to the NPRA government following the general and presidential elections scheduled to be held in six months' time." The vice president cautioned the Liberian people to realize that the political future of Liberia rests in their hands.

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